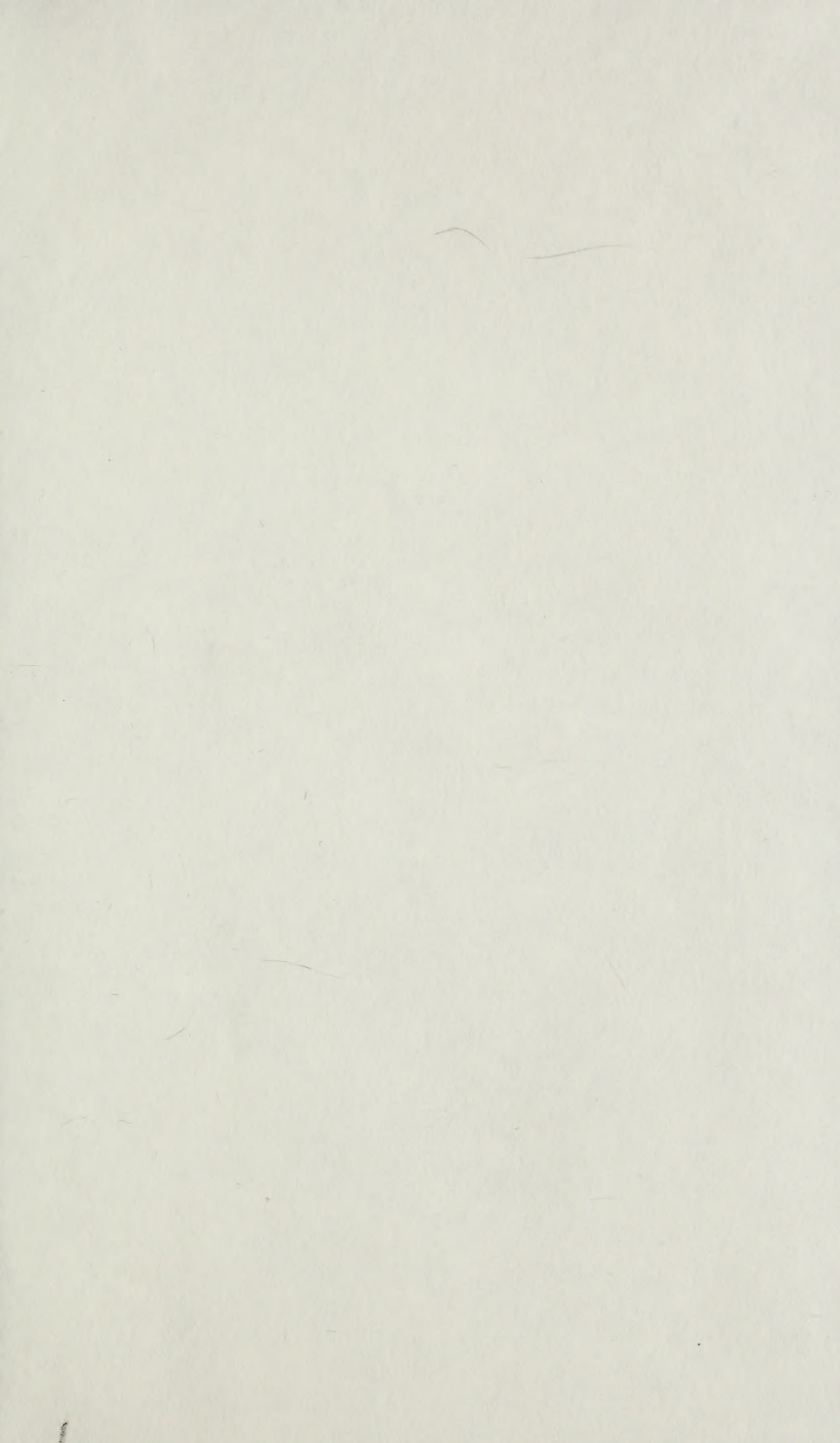


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Vol. 2

A

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

OF

RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION,
KING OF ENGLAND.

By G. P. R. JAMES, Esq.

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF LOUIS XIV.," "HISTORY OF CHARLEMAGNE,"
"LIFE OF EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE," &c.

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CONTENTS.

BOOK VIII.	PAGE
Preaching of a Second Crusade—Its Advocacy by St. Bernard—Character of the Second Crusade—The Armies of Conrad and Louis—Reception of Louis at Constantinople—Meeting of Louis and Conrad—Imprudent Conduct of De Rancun—Its Effects—Treachery of the Greeks—Arrival of Louis in Jerusalem—Siege of Damascus—Unsuccessful Result of the Second Crusade—Energy of Baldwin and Joscelyn—Death of Joscelyn—Offer of the Emperor Manuel—Imbecility of the Egyptian Khalifs—Internal Troubles in Egypt—Siege of Ascalon by the Christians—Ambition of Noureddin—His Cunning and Duplicity—Defeat of the Christians at Paneas—Illness of Noureddin—Victory over Noureddin—March of the Emperor Manuel into Syria—Domestic Troubles of Baldwin—Almeric succeeds Baldwin—Contentions between Schawer and Dargam—Battle of the Castle of the Curdes—Invasion of Egypt—Battle of Hermopolis—Proposals for Peace—Return of Almeric to Ascalon—Designs upon Egypt—Preparations for its Conquest—Retreat of Almeric from Egypt—Saladin appointed Vizier—Anxiety of Noureddin—Situation of Saladin—Aspect of Affairs in Egypt—Schism in the Mussulman Religion—Death of Khalif Aded—Saladin avoids an Interview with Noureddin—Noureddin's Suspicions of Saladin—Death of Noureddin and Almeric—Baldwin the Leper—Insubordination amongst the Syrian Emirs—Saladin takes possession of Damascus—His Treaty with Malek Saleh—Influence of Saladin—Defeat of Manuel by Kilig Arslan II.	1

BOOK IX.

Proposed Expedition of Henry II. and Louis—The Decrees of the Lateran—Rebellion of Geoffrey de Rancun—Anecdote of Prince Philip of France—Louis visits the Shrine of St. Thomas—Coronation of Philip Augustus—Quarrel between Philip and his Mother—Conference between Henry and Philip—Henry visited by the Count de Bar—The Assize of Arms—Schemes of the Count of Flanders—Insurrection in France—Henry and his Sons—Agreement between the two Henrys—Negotiations with the Count of Flanders—Events of the year 1182—Richard commanded to do Homage—Excuse for the King's conduct—Unnatural Command of the

	PAGE
King—Indignation of Richard—Conflicting Statements—Reception of Henry II. at Limoges—The Rebellion in Aquitaine—Treachery of the young King—Meeting of the Clergy at Caen—Illness of the younger Henry—Death of the young King—The Characters of Henry and Richard—Grief of the King	52

BOOK X.

Harmony between the King and Richard—Claims of Philip against England—Homage of Henry to Philip—Attempt to intimidate Richard—Philip's Demand upon the Count of Flanders—Attack upon the Count of Hainault—Submission of the Count of Flanders—Conference between Henry and Philip—Filial Obedience of Richard—Henry and the Princess Adalais—War with the Count of Toulouse—Defeat of the Count of Toulouse—Death of Geoffrey—Preparations for War—Interference of the Clergy—A Truce concluded—Disgraceful Act of Richard—Temperate Policy of Henry—Richard takes the Cross—Preaching of the third Crusade—Saladin's Tithe—Conspiracy in Aquitaine—Richard and the Count of Toulouse—Suspicious Conduct of Philip—Preparations for War—Henry invades France—Combat between Richard and De Barres—Philip offers Terms of Peace—Abrupt Termination of the Negotiations—Rumours of the Day—Demands of Richard—Richard's Quarrel submitted to Arbitration—War renewed—Flight of Henry—Treaty of Peace—Death of Henry the Second	80
---	----

BOOK XI.

Remorse of Richard—Punishment for Rebellion—Richard receives Absolution—Conference between Philip and Richard—Its Amicable conclusion—Queen Eleanor restored to Liberty—Act of Grace to Prisoners—Richard returns to England—Eleanor's Influence	117
--	-----

BOOK XII.

Personal Appearance of the King—Admiration of his Subjects—Preparations for the Coronation—The Procession to the Abbey—The Ceremony of Coronation—Proclamation against the Jews—Massacre of the Jews—Richard's sense of Equity	126
--	-----

BOOK XIII.

Richard's Enthusiasm for the Crusade—His Motives—Sale of the Royal Possessions—A Royal Purchaser—Charter to William of Scotland—Resignation of Ranulph de Glanville—Arrest of the High Justiciary—Deprivation of the Sheriffs—Envoys from Philip—Richard's Departure delayed—Pretensions of the Archbishop of Canterbury—Feud between	
---	--

Richard and Geoffrey—Dispute between Baldwin and the Monks—Judgment of the King and Bishops—Termination of the Dissensions—Geoffrey's Appointment confirmed—Richard sets sail from England . . 134

BOOK XIV.

Aspect of Affairs in the East—The Count of Flanders in Palestine—Siege of Harem—Departure of Saladin for Ascalon—Gallant Conduct of Baldwin—Meeting of the two Armies—Defeat of Saladin—Sufferings of the Mahomedans—Erection of a Fort at Jacob's Ford—Saladin invades Sidon—Defeat of the Christians—Marriage of Guy of Lusignan—Truce between Baldwin and Saladin—Dissensions in Palestine—Death of Malek Saleh—Designs of Saladin—The Count of Tripoli—Saladin lays Siege to Berytes—Perilous Situation of the Sultan—Progress of Saladin—His Power and Dominions—Daring Resolution of Renault de Chatillon—Guy de Lusignan appointed Regent—Imposition of a Property and Income Tax—Moving of the Forces of Jerusalem—March of Saladin to Carac—Siege of Carac—Deliverance of Carac—Anger of Baldwin with Lusignan—The Succession to the Throne—The Count of Tripoli and the Regency—The Regent's Truce with Saladin—Intrigues of Sybilla's Party—Violation of the Truce—The Confederation of Naplouse—Coronation of Sybilla—Contempt of the Nobles—Proceedings of the Count of Tripoli—His Alliance with Saladin—Envoys despatched to the Count—Extraordinary Tidings from him—The Battle of Nazareth—Reconciliation of the Count of Tripoli with Guy—Exertions of the Christians—Proceedings of Saladin—The Sultan's Forces—His Capture of Tiberiad—Advice of the Count of Tripoli—Conduct of the Grand Master of the Temple—March of the Christians—Their Sufferings—The Passage to the Lake of Tiberias—Defeat of the Christians—Escape of the Count of Tripoli—Aspect of the Battle-field—Loss of the Holy Cross—Death of Renault of Chatillon—Fanatical Cruelty of Saladin—Deplorable State of the Country—Successes of Saladin—Siege of Ascalon—Surrender of Ascalon—Balian of Ibelin in Jerusalem—Jerusalem confided to Balian—Saladin's Advance on the Holy City—Resolution of the Christians—Siege of Jerusalem—Terrible Sufferings of the Christians—Mission of Balian to Saladin—Speech of Balian to the Sultan—Fall of Jerusalem—Arrangements for a New Crusade—State of Affairs in England—Richard's Preparations for the Expedition—Laws for the Discipline of his Forces—Richard and the Bishop of Ely—Ordonnance of the King of France—Rendezvous on the Plains of Vezelai—Richard sets sail for Messina—Visit of Cardinal Octavian to Richard—Arrival of the English Fleet at Messina—Alarm of the King of Sicily—His Reception of Philip—Arrival of Richard at Messina—The Lion and the Lamb—Richard's Demands upon Tancred

— Dissensions in Messina — Richard's Attack and Capture of Messina — Imprudent Message of Philip — Anger of Richard — Negotiations with Tancred — A Compromise agreed upon — Treaty between Richard and Tancred — Richard's Anxiety regarding the Succession — His Resignment of the Right of Wreck — Penitence of Richard — His Occupations at Messina — Richard and Des Barres — Enmity of the King of England — Visit of Richard to Tancred — Secret Practices of Philip — Arrival of Eleanor and Berengaria at Naples — Object of their Journey — Treaty between Philip and Richard — Terms of the Treaty — Departure of Philip — Eleanor and Richard's Proceedings — Accusations against Richard — His Liberality in Sicily — Richard sails for Palestine	150
--	-----

BOOK XV.

Magnificence of his Fleet — Disasters of the Voyage — The Shipwrecked Crusaders — Wily Conduct of the Emperor of Cyprus — Richard's Message to Isaac — Battle with the Cypriots — Gallant Bearing of Richard — Defeat of Isaac — Marriage of Richard and Berengaria — Treaty with the Emperor of Cyprus — His Treachery — Fall of Nicosia — Submission of Isaac — Richard's Concession to the Cypriots	261
--	-----

BOOK XVI.

State of Palestine on his Arrival — Good Faith of Saladin — Dejection of Tyre — Conrad of Montferrat — His Defence of Tyre — The Green Knight — A Snare laid for the Mahommedans — Abandonment of the Siege of Tyre — Liberation of Guy and others — Discord among the Christians — Progress of Saladin — Surrender of Carac and Shaubec — Mission of William of Tyre — Frederic Barbarossa as a Crusader — Crusading Enthusiasm in Europe — Combats with the Saracens — Guy's March upon Acre — Siege of Acre — Perilous Position of Guy — Accession of Strength to the Christians — Attack on Saladin's Camp — Defeat of the Christians — Retirement of Saladin from his Position — The Besieged and the Besiegers — Expedients of Saladin — Hopes of the Saracens — Pestilence in the Christian Camp — Death of Sybilla — Ambition of Conrad of Montferrat — Differences between Conrad and Guy	275
--	-----

BOOK XVII.

Richard in sight of Palestine — Desperate Fight at Sea — Gorgeous Appearance of Acre — Richard's Arrival in Syria — Rejoicings in the Christian Camp — Activity of Philip Augustus — Illness of Richard — Attack on Acre by the French — Kindness and Liberality of Saladin — Gallantry and Death of Alberic Clement — Assault by the English and Pisans — Unsuccessful Efforts of the Christians — Offer of Surrender — Miraculous Interpositions — Treachery in both Hosts — Surrender of Acre	305
--	-----

BOOK XVIII.

PAGE

Philip and Richard at Acre—Succession to the Throne of Jerusalem—Claims of Sybilla and Isabella—Discord between Philip and Richard—The Question of Sovereignty decided—Philip abandons the Crusade—His Departure—The Convention of Acre—Saladin delays its fulfilment—Massacre of the Mussulman Prisoners—Conflicting statements—Richard marches towards Ascalon—Discipline of the Army of the Cross—Arrival at Cayphas—Sufferings of the Crusaders—Difficulties of the way—Encampment on the Plains of Megiddo—Richard wounded—Advance upon Assur—Arrangement of the Troops—The Attack commenced by the Turks—Orders of Richard—General Battle—Richard's prowess—James of Avesnes killed—Rout of the Saracens—Grief for the Death of James of Avesnes—Dismantling the City of Ascalon—Richard proposes to march for Ascalon—His Proposal overborne—Richard attacked by Mussulmans—The Templars and the Turkish Cavalry—Flight of the Saracens—Treachery of Conrad of Montferrat—Richard's passion for Music—Destitution of the Army—The Advance upon Jerusalem abandoned—Dispersion of the Crusading Force—Richard's designs frustrated—Conduct of the Duke of Austria—Feuds between the Pisans and Genoese—Richard appeases their Animosity—Grief at the Departure of the French—Death of Takieddin—Painful News from England—Richard's determination to return thither—Conrad elected Leader and King—Assassination of Conrad—Charge against Richard—Its Improbability—Conrad's Death suggested by Saladin—Conduct of the Widow of Conrad—Henry of Champagne marries Isabella—Gift of Acre to Henry of Champagne—Richard's Attack upon Daroum—His determination not to quit the Holy Land—State of Jerusalem—Demand of the French—The Siege of Jerusalem impossible—Liberality of Richard—Preparations for Richard's Return to England—Saladin invests Jaffa—Richard repairs to the Relief of Jaffa—His lion-like Courage—The Victory of Jaffa—Attempt upon Richard's person—Indecision of the Mahommedan Forces—Chivalry of the Mahommedans—Richard's Achievements—Situation of the Christians in Jaffa—Truce between Richard and Saladin—Death of Saladin—Preparations for Departure—Richard sets sail for England	321
---	-----

BOOK XIX.

Richard's Arrival in Carniola in Disguise—His Secret penetrated at Goritz—Richard at Freisach—His Page put to the Torture at Vienna—Arrest of Richard—His Amusements in Captivity—General View of Richard's Character—Richard and Philip contrasted—Motives for Richard's Detention	394
---	-----

	PAGE
BOOK XX.	
Events in England during his Absence—Dissensions between John and Longchamp—Mission of the Archbishop of Rouen—Proceedings of the Archbishop—Peace between John and Longchamp—Arrest of Geoffrey at Dover—Resolution to depose Longchamp—Flight of the Justiciary—Homage to John as Richard's successor—Return of Longchamp to England—Philip and the Pope—Designs of John—Intrigues of Philip Augustus—Philip's Invasion of Normandy	403

BOOK XXI.	
Rumour of Richard's Captivity—Indignation of the English People—Discovery of Richard's Place of Imprisonment—Richard summoned before a Diet at Haguenau—Charges brought against him—Demands upon Richard—Negotiations for his liberation—The Emperor's Golden Bull—Raising of the King's Ransom—Collection of the First Instalment	417

BOOK XXII.	
Designs of Philip—Departure of John from England—Treaty between Philip and John—Base Proposals of Philip and John—Liberation of Richard—Reception of Richard in London—The Parliament of Nottingham—Proceedings of the Parliament—Richard again crowned—Means adopted to recruit the Treasury—Richard's Departure for Normandy	427

BOOK XXIII.	
English and French Historians—The Treaty between John and Philip—Philip's Operations in Normandy—Richard's march upon Verneuil—Philip raises the Siege of Verneuil—Richard's Entry into Verneuil—The Battle of Freteval—Flight of the French—Permission to hold Tournaments in England—Death of the Duke of Austria—The Queen Berengaria—Dis-mantling of Vaudreuil—Successes of Philip—Treaty of Peace proposed—Terms of the Treaty—Fresh Causes for Hostilities—Infringement of the Treaty—Embarrassments of the English King—Entanglement of Philip—England and her Continental Possessions—Renewal of the War—Defeat of Philip—Richard and the Pope—Truce between Richard and Philip	438

BOOK XXIV.	
Passing Events—Death of the Emperor Henry—Election of Otho to the Imperial Crown—Richard and the Church—Misery of the Lower Classes—William Fitz Osbert—Measures of public benefit—Hopes of Peace—Richard Wounded before Chalus—The Succession to the Throne—Richard's Magnanimity—His Death—Review of Richard's Character	462

INDEX	475
-----------------	-----

HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION.

BALDWIN III., who now sat upon the throne of Jerusalem, though still in his early youth, and at that period tainted with some vices,* which he afterwards cast off, was not unworthy of the race from which he sprang. He proved himself brave, active, intelligent, sober, temperate, and profoundly versed in the feudal law of the land. Indeed, he seems to have been one of the most accomplished princes of the age in which he lived; and, like Godfrey of Bouillon, to have found time for the cultivation of literary tastes, even in the midst of fierce wars and anxious contentions. It would appear that the warriors of the new kingdom beheld with some degree of jealousy the bodies of armed auxiliaries which occasionally flocked into Palestine from various parts of Europe; but those who regarded the state of the monarchy there existing with reference to the permanence of a Christian dynasty in the Holy Land, saw the absolute necessity of continual reinforcements, for the preservation of the throne of Jerusalem. On the fall of Edessa, then, the more politic of the European leaders eagerly solicited aid against the overwhelming Mahommedan power, which only wanted unity of operation to annihilate the Latin forces in Syria. Letter after letter, messenger after messenger, appealed to the princes of Christendom for aid against the infidel; and at

* William of Tyre accuses him of a fondness for dice and women.

length the pope, Eugenius, took up the cause. St. Bernard, one of the most eloquent men of his day, was enlisted as the advocate of a new crusade ; and once more the millions of the west were put in motion to resist the Mussulman.

No state of things, indeed, could be less favourable for the commencement of such an enterprise than the position of affairs in Europe at the time of the fall of Edessa. England was exhausted by the contention between Stephen and Matilda. France, under Louis VII., was altogether a different country from that France which sent forth such multitudes to the first crusade. In her bosom the feudal power had received the first of those blows, which afterwards succeeded each other rapidly ; and the great body of nobles found itself assailed, from below by the rise and opposition of free communes, and from above by the increasing authority of the crown. But little hope existed now of gaining lands and fair possessions in the east, to compensate for fiefs resigned or neglected in Europe, and no inducement was wanting which might lead the barons to remain in their own territories, for the defence of their rights and privileges against the busy adversaries which were daily springing up around them.

At the same time, impediments stood in the way of monarchs as well as of their people : the especial duty of the King of France to stay in his kingdom for the purpose of restraining his turbulent vassals, and protecting the rising communes against the tyrannical arm of feudal power, was evident to all wise and sensible men. Conrad, the Emperor of Germany, was more or less affected by the same political motives ; but besides these obstacles, it must be remembered that all those first bright enthusiasms, the great religious zeal, the indignation at the wrongs of their fellow-Christians, and the superstitious veneration for a land familiarised with their thoughts by early education but shut out from their personal knowledge by a host of dangers, difficulties, and toils, had now faded from the sight of the European princes, and no longer had the same effect upon the general mind.

Only two points in the state of Europe at the time were favourable to the preaching of a second crusade : the character of St. Bernard, and that of Louis, King of France. The first of those personages combined wonderful eloquence, vast

powers of reasoning and considerable erudition, with infinite self-confidence, an impressive tone of authority, extraordinary activity and dazzling enthusiasm. He was formed for the apostle of a proud and grasping Church, and was in no degree less potent as an advocate of its unjust temporal ambition, because his own ambition was as frequently directed in the path of vanity as in that of pride. Louis VII., on the contrary, was, as we have shown elsewhere, one of the weakest and most inconsistent of men, but at the same time one of the most enthusiastic and superstitious. Thus he was a fitting disciple for the fiery Bernard, and a meet instrument for promoting a new crusade.

The Pope laid his commands upon Bernard to proceed through France and Germany, exhorting Christians of all degrees to exert themselves for the delivery of the Holy Land; and the saint undertook the task. But it would appear that the first idea of such an enterprise was given to Eugenius by Louis VII. himself. In the course of the early wars which he waged against Thibalt, Count of Champagne, the French monarch had combined sacrilege and murder, in the barbarous act of burning thirteen hundred people in the church of Vitry, even after the count had made submission. A fit of illness followed; the pangs of remorse seized upon Louis; and in order to make atonement, he formed the resolution of taking the cross, and proceeding to Palestine. Some have supposed the king himself pointed out to the supreme pontiff that there was no one so well qualified to rouse men from the apathy into which they had fallen regarding the situation of the Holy Land, as the famous Abbot of Clairvaux, who in early life had abandoned the highest prospects, to devote his whole existence to gloomy fanaticism and religious enthusiasm, and whose reputation as an orator, a theologian, and a man of letters, was not even inferior to that of his unhappy rival, Abelard. I am not inclined to adopt this supposition, however, as Bernard was well known to Eugenius, who had lived under his rule.

We are told by Geoffrey of Clairvaux, who contributed a part to the well-known life of St. Bernard, that it was not without repeated entreaties the abbot was induced to undertake the task; but, considering the character of the preacher, this unwillingness seems very improbable; and it is quite

clear, from Bernard's own letters, that his vanity was highly gratified by the admiration which his oratory excited, not only in France, but in Germany also, where the very language which he spoke, whether it was the Latin or the Romance, was not generally understood, but where his gestures and his manner gained for him the palm of eloquence. The Emperor Conrad, indeed, resisted for some time; but at length the prospect of retribution in another world, for sloth and inactivity in this, awoke some more enthusiastic feelings; and Bernard, in the end, had the satisfaction of seeing the cross assumed by the German monarch, and active preparations commenced for carrying on the war against the infidel.

An attempt, which was partially successful, notwithstanding the strenuous remonstrance and opposition of St. Bernard, was made about this time to direct the inflamed passions of the Christians against the unhappy Hebrews who were scattered throughout Europe. The most false, base, and calumnious stories were propagated by malice and ignorance; and some slaughter did take place, though the impulsion was not sufficiently strong to turn the excited enthusiasms of the people from the grand object of the crusade. The great body of the male population received the cross; and the saint gloried in the fact that he had depopulated the cities of Europe, and left not above one man where seven were supposed to exist before his eloquence scourged them into the east.

The character of this crusade, however, was very different from that of the first. It was rather a great military than a religious movement; and St. Bernard himself wisely declined to lead or to accompany the crusaders. The meeting place of the French troops was at Mayence—that of the Germans at Ratisbon; but though Louis assumed the cross first, Conrad entered the dominions of the emperor of the east before his brother monarch. Meeting with the same injury and insult from Manuel which his predecessors had endured from Alexius, Conrad passed indignantly through the Byzantine territory, though not without much loss. Crossing the Bosphorus, he proceeded on his march, and did not at this time condescend to confer with the treacherous sovereign who filled the throne of the eastern empire. The number of

soldiers who accompanied the German potentate, we cannot well ascertain; some of the Latin historians raise it to a million; and this amount would not appear very extravagant if the statement of Aboulfaradj be correct, that he set out with ninety thousand men at arms; for at an after period twelve foot soldiers were generally supposed to be the proportion to one horseman in a well organised army. Other writers fix the forces of Conrad at nine hundred thousand men; while Louis of France was followed by seventy thousand horsemen, and an innumerable body of foot. Many of those who accompanied the French king, indeed, were Englishmen, as we learn from William of Tyre, and from the English chronicles of the time.* Both the armies were ornamented or encumbered by the presence of a number of women; and while the German ladies displayed themselves in arms, with the military fury strong upon them, the French queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, with a gay bevy of Amazons who followed her, filled the camp with merriment, and some say with the licentiousness, of the south.

While in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the German emperor certainly committed many wanton aggressions, and merited and obtained the name of barbarian, from the refined and treacherous Greeks. Manuel, however, probably more from policy than from revenge, had determined that a body of crusaders which might place the whole of Syria beyond his grasp for ever, should not reach the Holy Land unmolested; and though the western emperor would not trust himself within the walls of Constantinople, and the eastern

* The annals of Waverley give the following account of the commencement of the second crusade, by which it will be seen that notwithstanding the wars between Stephen and Henry, a number of distinguished English nobles took the cross: "Visis miraculis quæ fiebant in locis religiosis, et afflictione cum humilitate multimoda certis venientibus audita, et conquestione Christianorum de sanctis locis venientium super eruptione Paganorum, prædicatione etiam Sancti Bernardi Abbatis Clarevallensis viri non contemnendæ autoritatis, cui Papa Eugenius injunxerat hoc officium, commoti Ludovicus rex Francorum, Conradus imperator Alemannorum, Fredericus etiam dux Suevorum nepos ejus, Galaranus comes Mellent, Tertius Willielmus de Warama Comes frater ejus, Theodericus etiam comes Flandrensis, et alii multi magnæ autoritatis et dignitatis viri, Franci, Normanni, Anglici, et de aliis regionibus innumerabiles, non solum milites, sed etiam, Episcopi, Clerici, Monachi crucem in humeros assumentes ad iter Jerosolimitanum se præparaverunt. Rex autem Francorum et Robertus frater ejus et Galerant Comes Mellent et alii multi dominica in ramis palmarum crucem assumpserunt."

monarch would not venture out of his capital, the latter cunningly offered, and the former foolishly received, guides to conduct the Christian forces towards the object of their journey.

We shall pause but little upon the events of the second crusade, having mentioned some of the circumstances connected therewith in another part of this work. Suffice it to say, that after crossing the sea, Conrad divided his troops into two bodies, confiding the one to the charge of the Bishop of Freysinghen, and reserving the other under his own authority. His forces, however, were betrayed by the imperial guides into the hands of the infidel, and there is some suspicion, also, of an attempt to mingle poison with their food. Led into the pathless deserts of Cappadocia, and lured on by the hope of arriving speedily at Iconium, they found themselves suddenly attacked by an immense army of Seljukian Turks, reinforced by all the different tribes and families of Mahomedans which could be brought together from the neighbouring country.

Taken at a disadvantage, embarrassed by the nature of the ground, and unable to oppose anything but heavy armed horsemen to the light and flying squadrons of the Turks, the host of the emperor suffered immense loss. The guides fled at the first onset; and Conrad, unable to bring the enemy to a regular battle, endeavoured to retrace his steps; but the Turks assailed him continually in his retreat, many of his most distinguished knights were slain, he himself was twice wounded, and when he at length reached the neighbourhood of Nicea, the number of his troops did not amount to one-tenth of that with which he commenced his march from Germany.

In the mean time, the King of France had proceeded through Germany and Hungary; and the account of his advance shows that great progress in civilisation had been made since the first crusade. All passed with quietness and regularity, interrupted only by a few private quarrels; and Louis having reached Constantinople in safety, was splendidly entertained by Manuel, who soon contrived to entangle him in irritating negotiations, the object of which evidently was to make Louis pledge himself to resign into the hands of the emperor whatever conquests he might make on the way

to Jerusalem. In the midst of feasts and intrigues, however, intelligence reached the French army that Manuel was actually allied to the Turkish Sultan of Iconium, and the certainty that he was betraying his Christian brethren was forced upon the minds of the armed pilgrims. Many of the crusading princes urged their monarch vehemently to punish the baseness of the emperor; they represented that Constantinople had always been a stumbling-block in the way of the crusaders; that through the cowardice and the machinations of the Greeks, Jerusalem had been first lost, its recovery rendered doubly difficult, and its safety now endangered; and they besought him to attack Constantinople with all his forces, and sweep away the last poor remnant of the eastern empire.

Louis, however, refused to violate his own good faith; and, crossing the sea, he advanced to Nicea, and encamped under the walls of that city. Manuel had filled the ears of the French king, during his stay in the imperial city, with tidings of the Emperor Conrad's success, but at Nicea rumours began to reach Louis of the reverses of his allies; and ere long, the arrival of Frederic, Duke of Suabia, brought the whole terrible tidings to the French army. A meeting soon after took place between the king and the emperor, and Louis did all that he could to comfort and assist the German sovereign. Uniting their forces, they marched on in the vicinity of the sea, till they reached the city of Ephesus, where they halted for a time, and the armies subsequently separated. The conduct of the emperor in this transaction is not very clearly explained, although it is generally supposed that the comparison of his own worn, harassed, and defeated army, with the gay and undiminished troops of France, was too painful to him to be borne longer. Certain it is, that he sent back the greater part of his forces by land towards Constantinople, and taking ship himself, made his way to the court of the treacherous Manuel. It is to be remarked, however, that he was still doubtful of the fate of his half-brother the Bishop of Freysinghen and the body of troops under his command, so that it is not improbable one of his objects was to gain intelligence of their situation before he proceeded further on his way.

The French monarch, in the mean time, re-commenced his

march with his own forces, accompanied by the grand master of the Templars, who had joined him at Constantinople ; and till they arrived on the banks of the Meander, they met with neither difficulty nor opposition. On reaching that river, however, the Turkish army appeared drawn up on the other side, bold with the signal successes which they had obtained over the Germans. But the scene here was very different ; the country was open, the French chivalry was fresh and active, a ford was speedily found, the knights plunged their horses into the water, the foot soldiers followed, and the Turks were attacked, and routed in every direction, with the most terrible slaughter. So great was the number of the slain, that the Greeks, when they saw the bones of the dead, acknowledged that Louis, with such power to destroy, had dealt very mercifully with Constantinople.

Success, however, was not always destined to attend the arms of the French king. In his march towards the Carian Laodicea, the army suffered a good deal, and that city itself was found completely deserted. From the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, the King of France learnt that the army of the Bishop of Freysinghen had endured as much as that of Conrad, and was totally dispersed. He nevertheless advanced boldly, till, at the end of a two days' march from Laodicea, some steep mountains presented themselves, which it was necessary to traverse. Louis then divided his forces into two parts, and sent forward the first division under Geoffrey de Rancun, while he himself remained with the larger body, which was encumbered with the baggage of the army. The orders he gave to his advance guard were, to stop on the summit of the mountain, and there to encamp for the night ; but Geoffrey de Rancun, by taking upon himself to judge for the commander-in-chief, brought about the destruction of one half of the French forces. His corps, consisting entirely of cavalry, and not loaded with much baggage, found the ascent of the mountain less difficult and tedious than had been expected. The distance traversed was not equal to the usual day's march, and although the sun was declining, and he had received distinct orders to halt on the top of the hill, Geoffrey proceeded several miles further before he pitched his tents. The king, fearful of being attacked in such a narrow pass, remained far behind to protect

the rear of his army, while the foot soldiers of his division climbed the steep ascent. The mountains rose high on one side, and a deep precipice and torrent presented itself on the other. The moment that the infantry had reached the flat ground at the summit of the mountain, they found themselves in presence of a numerous Turkish force, which had marked the moment of separation, and now drove the French foot down the hill by a tremendous charge.

The first intimation of what had occurred was given to Louis by the sight of his flying soldiery; and he instantly forced his way forwards, at the head of his men-at-arms; but the road was steep, and covered with loose stones; many of the horses fell, and rolled with their riders down the precipice, into the stream below; and ere the rest reached the top, the arrows of the Turks fell amongst them like hail, killing thousands, both of chargers and men, and throwing the whole body into confusion. The Turks now urged the fight more and more closely, the Christians were scattered in every direction, and killed as fugitives by the scimitar or the bow. Few, if any, of the men-at-arms, who had commenced the ascent of the hill, escaped from the pursuing sword of the infidel, and Louis preserved his own life by means little short of miraculous. He fought most gallantly, endeavouring to force his way at the head of his cavalry to the top of the hill; till at length, his horse being killed by an arrow towards the end of the day, he was surrounded by the enemy, and his death or capture seemed inevitable. At that moment, however, the monarch, pressed for his life, caught the branches of a tree that hung over his head, swung himself up with its assistance to the summit of an isolated piece of rock, and there, with his long double-handed sword, defended himself against all the efforts of the infidel till night fell, and the Turks returned to their camp. The king then descended from his perilous situation, but might still have perished in the midst of that desolate tract, had he not fallen in with a part of his rear-guard, which had not commenced the ascent of the mountain.

With this small body, and the baggage which was under its protection, Louis rejoined Geoffrey de Rancun; and such was his indignation at the conduct of that leader, that he had well-nigh sacrificed him to a just resentment. The uncle of

the king, however, who had shared De Rancun's fault, now procured his pardon; and the enfeebled army marched on to Attalia, closely pursued by the Turks, but preserved from further loss by the strict discipline which was maintained by the grand master of the Templars.

At Attalia, new disasters befel the troops of Louis. The difficulties and dangers which lay between that city and Antioch, forced upon the monarch the determination of dividing his forces, and suffering a part to proceed by sea, while the rest endeavoured to effect their passage by land. At first, the king resolved to send the weak, the sick, and the infantry, in vessels hired from the Greeks of Attalia; but he was cheated in every transaction by the people of the place: the extravagant sum demanded for the conveyance of each man to Antioch rendered it impossible to send so great a multitude by that means, and it was at length decided that the king and his chivalry should take ship, while the pilgrims and foot soldiers, guarded and guided by the Count of Flanders, with a considerable force of men-at-arms, should pursue the land journey. In order to ensure as far as possible the safety of the large body of foot left behind, the King of France hired Greek guides, and a strong escort of Greek cavalry, to accompany them on the way; but he unwisely paid the whole of the sum agreed for before he took ship. The moment he was gone, the Greeks plainly intimated to the Count of Flanders that they had not the slightest intention of performing their agreement; and after some vain efforts to induce them to do so, finding that there was no chance of success, and as little probability of reaching Antioch if he proceeded without his perfidious allies, the Count of Flanders also took ship, with as many of the pilgrims as he could convey, and followed the king to Antioch. Still an immense number of unhappy wretches remained under the walls of Attalia. Louis, indeed, had furnished them with all the money he could spare before he departed; but the perfidious Greeks refused to admit them into the town, or to supply them with provisions; and the Turks daily straitened and assaulted them without, till at length the dreadful sufferings which they endured from famine, pestilence, and the sword, reached to such a point, that the hearts even of the infidels melted with compassion; and the

Mahommedans not only ceased their attacks, but supplied the starving pilgrims with food under the inhospitable walls of a Greek city. Of the poor remnant which was left, some few made their way forward to Antioch, some few reached Constantinople on their return, and some, touched with the generosity of their adversaries, and confounding, in their hatred of the treacherous Greeks, a pure religion with its impure followers, abandoned Christianity, and embraced the faith of those who had saved them from a horrible death.

The conduct of the King of France has been justified by those who have viewed the question as a mere matter of expediency, but to those who consider the act he committed, in abandoning his followers to the fury of the Turks and the treachery of the Greeks, as a subject involving human feeling, Christian charity, or chivalrous honour, it must ever appear as a foul stain upon his reputation. We have no proof that he did any of the many things which he might have done to ensure the safety of a multitude committed to his charge, and no true knight in Europe, had such a host been necessarily exposed to such peril, would have failed to share it with them.*

The king was received in Antioch with every mark of honour and distinction; but the conduct of his queen, Eleanor, which we have mentioned elsewhere, was soon followed by his sudden departure for Jerusalem. In that city, joy and gratulation awaited him, though neither previously nor subsequently did he merit the thanks of the people of Palestine. The scattered fragments of the German army also reached the Holy Land, and, having been gathered together under Conrad, formed, with the troops of Louis and the forces of the King of Jerusalem, so large a body of tried men, that no enterprise could be considered too great for their powers.

* "Ludovicus rex Francorum et Regina Alionor et socii sui quos supra memoravimus, præsentè Papa Eugenio in expeditionem Jerosolimitanum ituri à Parisiis recesserunt. Quas tribulationes et misérias in ipso itinere dum per terram Imperatoris Constantinopolis transirent, à fame, pestilentia, incursione paganorum perpassi sunt, non est nostri studii enarrare. Quia enim de rapina pauperum, et ecclesiarum spoliatiòne illud iter ex majori parte inceptum est, nec in eos qui se inhonestè habuerant vindicatum est, fere nihil prosperum, nihil memoria dignum in illa peregrinatione agitatum est." Such is the account given in the annals of Waverley of this most miserable and unprosperous expedition.

A council was soon after held in which the future operations of the army were discussed, and it was determined to besiege Damascus with the united forces of the cross, rather than repair and inhabit the ruined walls of Edessa. Baldwin, therefore, with Conrad and Louis, marched towards the city, at the head of an army amounting at this time, according to the historian Aboulfaradj, to the number of twenty thousand horsemen and sixty thousand foot; and Damascus was speedily besieged on all sides.

A number of events now took place of which we have but confused accounts. Nouredin, it would seem, commenced his march for the relief of Damascus, but paused unaccountably, though the Christians were already terribly straitened in their quarters, both by the besieged themselves, and by large bodies of Turks who hovered round them continually. Dissensions, it is true, existed between Nouredin, Saifeddin, and the Sultan of Persia; and, moreover, the vizier who commanded in Damascus, fearful of his own power if any of the Mahommedan princes should obtain a hold upon the territory, chose rather to resist the Franks unsupported than to encourage the approach of grasping and ambitious friends. His force was not sufficient, indeed, to meet the enemy in the field, but he harassed them by raising up a desolating species of warfare against them, offering a sum of money for every Frankish head that was brought into Damascus.

Still the siege was persevered in till the hopes of the garrison were well-nigh exhausted; but at length the vizier contrived to sow dissensions amongst the Christian princes. It would appear, both by the account of Aboulfaradj and that of William of Tyre, that the Christians of Palestine received bribes from the Mussulman commander,* who at the same time represented to the King of Jerusalem, or rather those who led and directed his youth, that if the emperor and the King of France once got Palestine within their grasp, they would never loose their hold.

Whether it was the jealousy thus instilled, or the bribes

* The account given of this transaction by Aboulfaradj is, that the Vizier of Damascus gave to Baldwin two hundred thousand pieces, representing besants, but made of copper, lightly gilt. He gave fifty thousand of the same base pieces of the same base coin to the Count of the Tiberiad. A story somewhat similar is told by Gervase; and the Syrian historian adds, that the Christian commanders did not discover the fraud till they had raised the siege of Damascus.

thus given, that shook the faith of the Christians of Palestine, cannot be told, but it is clear that they betrayed their European brethren and induced them to leave the point of assault where they had made some progress, in order to recommence operations in a less favourable spot, changing the attack of the town to the opposite side. The Governor of Damascus having added to the motives which he had already held out, a threat of giving up the city to Saifeddin if the allies persisted in the siege, and an offer of resigning to them the town of Paneas if they abandoned the attempt, the persons whom he thus won to his interests speedily persuaded the emperor and the King of France to raise the siege, and make an ignominious retreat from before the walls of the besieged place. Who was peculiarly in fault, William of Tyre does not inform us, but the expedition and its consequences were disgraceful to all; to Conrad and Louis for their weakness, and to Baldwin and his advisers for the treachery of which some of them certainly were guilty. The European leaders, during their stay in the Holy Land, never ceased to view their Syrian companions with reasonable distrust, and Conrad speedily returning to Europe, was followed not long after by Louis.

The contempt, rather than the pity, of the world, followed the unsuccessful crusaders, and even St. Bernard himself, though still idolised by the Church and the people, did not escape without reproach for having stimulated the monarchs of Christendom to such an undertaking, and announced its success in the tone of a prophet. Many were the attempts to justify the abbot of Clairvaux, and the principles on which he was excused by his friends appear somewhat curious to our eyes at present. Odo of Freysinghen declares that prophets are not always able to prophesy; and Geoffrey of Clairvaux asserts that the crusade could not properly be called unfortunate, because, though it did not benefit the Christians of the Holy Land, it at least served to people heaven with martyrs.

There is some reason to believe that the result of the second crusade, and the disgrace which fell upon the Syrian leaders for the part they played therein, first roused the young King of Jerusalem from that state of voluptuous licentiousness which characterised his early years. Certain

it is, he at once started into that active and energetic monarch which he appeared during the rest of his career. The first obstacles in his path arose from the domination of his mother, Melesinda, who still retained in her own hands, or in those of her favourite, Manassen, the whole power of the kingdom. This man acted as commandant of the troops during the whole of the early part of the reign of Baldwin; and as it would appear that he was of a covetous and grasping disposition, it is not improbable, though we do not find it absolutely so stated by William of Tyre, that those base acts, which the Mohammedan writers attribute to Baldwin, might more reasonably have been charged against Manassen. In the year 1149, however, Baldwin threw off the authority of his mother, took possession, by force of arms, of the various important towns she held; and, on her persevering resistance, besieged her in the citadel of Jerusalem. This painful and disgraceful contest was put an end to by the mediation of friends, and the young monarch, giving up to his mother the city of Naplouse for her dowry, thenceforward exercised the sole government of the kingdom of Jerusalem.*

Had the infidel been able to seize the moment while this short strife existed between the queen and her son, very great reverses might have befallen the infant kingdom; but Joscelyn, the Count of Edessa, had followed the example of Baldwin, and roused himself from his debaucheries to oppose the enemy with vigour; nor were his efforts unsuccessful, for in a great battle with the troops of Nouredin, at which it would appear that the Attabec was present himself, Joscelyn completely defeated the forces of Aleppo, and captured the armour-bearer and arms of the adverse sovereign. Boastful of his triumph, Joscelyn sent the arms of Nouredin to Massoud, Sultan of Iconium, the father-in-law of the Attabec prince, with the words: "Behold the arms of your daughter's husband. I will soon send you something better." The victory of Joscelyn must indeed have been great and complete, and from the accounts of the Arabians, it is probable that he gained many more successes over the armies of Nouredin than the jealous enmity of the Latin historians has suffered to appear.† But Nouredin effected by craft

* William of Tyre, lib. xvii.

† The Arabian writers uniformly represent Joscelyn as one of the most valiant

what he had not been able to accomplish by force: instead of again taking the field, he had recourse to a pitiful artifice, caused the unfortunate Prince of Edessa to be watched and waylaid, either upon a journey, or a hunting party, and having taken him prisoner, suffered him to die in a dungeon at Aleppo.*

I have preferred the Arabian to the Latin account of the death of Joscelyn the younger, but it may be necessary to say, that, according to William of Tyre, the sovereign of Edessa, at the time of his capture, was hastening towards Antioch for the purpose of aiding the widow of Raymond, prince of that territory, who was threatened by the whole forces of Aleppo and Iconium. Raymond himself, whose military qualities were of a very high order, had been hurried by the ardour of his courage into a battle with Nouredin, in which neither his skill, his herculean strength, nor his almost superhuman daring, proved available against the immense superiority of the enemy's troops. Nouredin had laid siege to the small town of Nepa, in the territory of Antioch, and

and skilful of the Christian commanders, and the evident fear and hatred with which they speak of him, give a testimony of his military skill and successes, which must more than counterbalance the unfavourable impression afforded by the writings of William of Tyre. "Joscelyn, Count of Edessa," says Kemaleddin, "had made himself remarkable amongst all the Christian lords by his courage and his generosity."

"He was a furious fiend," says Ibn-alatir, "and the mortal enemy of the Mohammedan religion. He it was who used to lead the Franks to battle. Such was his prudence and his courage, such was his enmity to the Mussulman faith, and his cruelty towards its followers, that all Christendom felt his fall, and all Christians had cause to groan at his captivity."

The personal animosity of William of Tyre towards the unfortunate Joscelyn, displays itself openly in the manner in which he speaks of his death. It will be remarked that his account in every respect is different from that of the Arabs. "*Interea comes Edessanus Joscelinus junior, vir supinus, à patria degener honestate, sordibus effluens, libidine dissolutus, spretis melioribus perniciose sequens, putans sibi optimè successisse, quòd Princeps Antiochenus, quem odio insatiabili persequabatur, occubuerat: non multum attendens, quàm verè dicatur, Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet: dum Antiochiam, ut dicitur, à domino Patriarcha evocatus, de nocte proficisceretur, separatus à comitatu, cum adolescente, qui ejus equum trahebat, gratia ut dicitur, alium purgandi, et ut secretioribus naturæ satisfaceret debitis, ignorantibus tam iis qui præbant quam qui sequebantur, irruentibus in eum prædonibus, qui in insidiis latebant, captus est; ac vinculus mancipatus, Halapiam perductus est. Ubi immundarum viarum suarum fructus colligens, squalore carceris et catenarum pondere fatigatus, anxietate spiritus et corporis jugi molestiâ consumptus, fine miserabili vitam finivit.*"

* Mills asserts that he was murdered in prison.

without waiting to calculate his enemy's forces and to collect a sufficient army to engage him with a probability of success, Raymond set out to relieve the city at the head of a very scanty band of cavalry. Noureddin, on hearing that the Prince of Antioch was advancing against him, would not believe the report made of the numbers he brought with him, and accordingly raised the siege of Nepa. Emboldened by this success, Raymond encamped with his little army at a distance from the town, near a spring called the walled fountain. There he was surrounded by the vast forces of Noureddin, but resolving never to surrender, he gave battle under every disadvantage. The struggle was prolonged for several hours; and after performing feats of valour scarcely credible, Raymond was at length slain, when his arm was so weary that he could wield his sword no more. His personal strength was so extraordinary that it excited the wonder both of the Christians and the Mussulmans; and from the latter we learn, that he could stop his horse at full speed by seizing an iron ring which hung from the top of one of the gates of Antioch, and grasping the animal with his knees as he passed through. Another of the feats of strength recorded of him by the same authors, was bending a stirrup-iron double between his finger and thumb.

The death of Joscelyn and Raymond left the two frontier principalities of the Holy Land to be defended by women and children, and before Baldwin could take any means for repelling the enemy, all the towns in the county of Edessa, with the exception of Turbessel, had fallen into the hands of the Turks. Noureddin and his father-in-law, Massoud, Sultan of Iconium, acted together throughout the whole of these wars with an unity of purpose which was wanting amongst the Christians; and the latter prince, after having swept a great part of Syria, left Noureddin to conclude what he had so fatally begun. At the same time, the Emperor Manuel, ever eager for his own advantage, after having aided to bring about the misfortunes which had befallen Antioch and Edessa by his pretensions to the former state, now offered to purchase the latter from the widow of Joscelyn, promising to maintain it with his own troops, and recover possession of the parts which had been lost. Shortly after this proposal had been made, the King of Jerusalem having advanced to-

wards Antioch, in order to succour that principality, was informed of the emperor's offer; and seeing not the slightest probability of ever regaining the towns which had been captured, beholding the whole country overrun with the troops of Noureddin, and the countess with the shattered fragments of her husband's army closely shut up in Turbessel, he consented to the plan suggested. The only question which remained was, how to deliver the widowed Countess of Edessa from the perilous situation in which she was placed. For that purpose Baldwin marched to Turbessel, accompanied by the Knights of the Temple and St. John. The envoys of the emperor were put in possession of the town; and the countess, with her family, and all those who chose to retire, issued forth under the escort of the king and his chivalry. Noureddin and his cavalry swept round them on every side, and assailed them with incessant flights of arrows; but the Red Cross Knights and their brethren of the Temple maintained so firm an array, that the Mussulmans did not venture to make a nearer attack. The countess and her train reached Antioch in safety, and then took place the last sad act in the history of Edessa. The Greek emperor, as impotent and inactive as he was cunning and treacherous, failed in preserving the principality, or recovering the lost cities; and, in a very few months, not a handful of dust remained to him of all that fine territory which had been conquered from the infidel by the ambition and genius of the first Baldwin.

While the military talents of Noureddin, and the union between the Princes of Aleppo and Iconium were extending the limits of Mussulman dominion in the north of Syria—where the feuds between the houses of Antioch and Edessa facilitated the progress of their enemies, and rendered their natural gallantry unavailing—the imbecility of the Egyptian khalifs, and the ambitious wars of their viziers and emirs, were favourable to the Christian arms in the south.

Notwithstanding the little interest at present taken in the eastern dynasties of that period, I must pause for a moment to notice some of the revolutions which occurred at this time in Egypt, as no clear picture, that I know, has ever yet been given, in our own language, of the state of things which enabled the Christians of Jerusalem to gain their last great triumph, in the capture of Ascalon. At the beginning of the

year 1153, the Vizier Adel, who had shown considerable energy in defence of the khalif's territories, was still in possession of the supreme power, though, at that time, a man far advanced in life. It had been customary with him every year to send either a fleet or army to strengthen and support the few Mussulman towns remaining on the coast of Syria; and some short time before the period of which we now speak, an Egyptian armament had swept the sea shores of Palestine, and carried off an immense quantity of booty, and a number of Christian captives. In the beginning of the year I now speak of, Adel had collected a considerable body of troops, and directed them to march to Ascalon, under the command of his son-in-law, the Emir Abbas. With Abbas was his son, Nasreddin, and a friend named Assame, and between these three a conspiracy was formed during their progress towards Asia for deposing Adel and raising Abbas to power. Nasreddin was sent back into Egypt to communicate with the Khalif Diafer Billah, whose favour he had completely gained, and to obtain that prince's consent to the step which was about to be taken. Having succeeded in that part of his mission, Nasreddin proceeded to the palace of his grandfather, Adel, who, in fact, possessed the whole power in Egypt, and, without remorse, struck off the old man's head, which was sent, after being exposed some weeks to the gaze of the populace, to a curious repository, which the Khalifs of Egypt had instituted for the preservation of the skulls of those who had become burdensome in the service of the state, and which was called the "Treasury of Heads."* Abbas was then raised to the dignity of vizier, in place of his father-in-law, and took the name of Maleksaleh, or "the faithful king." He was not destined long, however, to possess the power which he had so wickedly obtained. Some reasons, into which it is not necessary here to enter, induced him to seek the destruction of the khalif himself; and Nasreddin, again obedient to the commands of his father, murdered Diafer Billah, with the principal part of his attendants, in the course of an infamous visit which that monarch made to his house.

* I was, at one time, inclined to believe that this term, "The Treasury of Heads," was merely an oriental figure to express the grave; but, upon consideration of the exact words of Moccassar, I am compelled to render the words as I have done.

His father, laying the crime to the charge of the monarch's two brothers, caused them shortly to be beheaded in the presence of Diafer's son, a child whom he had immediately raised to the nominal command of Egypt. One of the eunuchs, however, who had accompanied Diafer to the house of Nasreddin, escaped, and spread abroad a true account of the khalif's assassination. The emirs of Egypt, who hated Abbas, now rose against him; and with a celebrated warrior of the name of Telai at their head, expelled him from Egypt. He fled, with his son, to Ascalon, which by this time, as we shall speedily show, had fallen into the hands of the Christians, by whom he was justly put to death; while Nasreddin, professing a desire to embrace Christianity, was detained for some time by the Templars, and at length given up into the hands of his enemy, Telai, who slew him with direful cruelty. The Templars, if we may believe the account of William of Tyre, received sixty thousand pieces of gold for affording this sanguinary pleasure to the new vizier.

Taking advantage of the first dissensions of Egypt, while Abbas was employing every unholy means to raise himself to the supreme authority, the Christians laid siege to the city of Ascalon, and attacked it for some time without success. At length, however, everything bade fair to put it in their power, and a general attack was ordered. The ambitious covetousness of the Templars, however, induced them to take possession of the breach which had been effected in the walls, for the purpose of obtaining a larger share in the plunder of Ascalon, by keeping out the rest of the Christian army till they had swept the place of the wealth it was known to contain. Forty of the knights made their way into the town, while the rest remained to guard the entrance; but the inhabitants, who had been panic-struck by the sudden demolition of some of their principal defences, soon perceived the small number of the assailants who had entered, took courage, attacked them vigorously, slew the grand master of the Temple, and pursued those who were guarding the trenches to their very tents.*

Not long after this event, however, dissensions broke out amongst the people of Ascalon, and the union, which had

* It is Ibn-alatir who mentions the fact of the garrison having made a sortie and pursued the Christians to their tents.

been their safety, having come to an end, the defence became weak and inefficient. The King of Jerusalem and his knights renewed the attack with greater vigour than ever; and the wood of the holy cross, which was supposed to have been found at Jerusalem, was borne before them to the assault, giving them the assurance of victory. Although they were not successful in penetrating into the town before night, the progress they had made was so great, and the number of slain on the part of the garrison so tremendous, that the citizens determined to surrender, on condition of being permitted to quit the town with their baggage. Three days were allowed by the capitulation for the inhabitants of Ascalon to evacuate the place, but such was their fear of the Christians in their neighbourhood, that ere two days were over they had completed their preparations, and were conducted with honour to a spot where they considered themselves in safety.*

For some time after the fall of Ascalon, the kingdom of Jerusalem enjoyed a higher degree of tranquillity and prosperity than had been its lot for many years. The internal troubles in Egypt did not cease with the death of Abbas; and Nouredin was occupied in the north, pursuing that plan of self-aggrandisement which, although the expulsion of the Christians from Asia was certainly one of his great purposes, affected the territories of the Mussulman princes in his neighbourhood not less than those of the Franks themselves. One of the great objects of Nouredin's ambition was the addition of the city of Damascus, and the district surrounding it, to the extensive dominions which he already possessed. That city was looked upon in those days as the capital of Syria, and was governed by an emir who had shown some weakness in his conduct towards the Christians—even paying them tribute and suffering them to reclaim any Christian captives who might be found in the slave-market of the town. The feelings of the religious enthusiast, therefore, as well as those of the ambitious conqueror, were aroused in the breast of Nouredin, prompting him to wrest it from its possessor. Damascus, however, lay so near to the Christian

* The account given by William of Tyre is confirmed in almost all the material points by the Arabian historians. I have blended in the narrative the statements of Ibn-alatir and Abouyali with that of William of Tyre.

territory in Palestine, that the Prince of Aleppo might well fear that a direct attack on his part would induce its sovereign to throw open his gates to the Franks. He determined, therefore, to effect by cunning what he dared not attempt by force; and on this, as on several other occasions, he showed a barbarous disregard for truth and honesty, which harmonises but little with the flattering picture which many modern historians* have thought fit to draw of the Mussulman princes, when compared with the Christian invaders of the Holy Land. Noureddin's first effort during the years 1154 and 1155 was to cultivate the friendship of the Emir of Damascus, and to gain the full confidence of the man he proposed to destroy. He also ingratiated himself with the various nobles of that principality, and allured the most powerful and talented of them to make him proposals for delivering the city into his hands. As soon as this was done, he betrayed them to their sovereign, who swept them away, one by one. In the end, when, by these arts, he had left the Prince of Damascus without any support amongst his great men, and had by other means as insidious gained the people and the military, he advanced towards the object of his cupidity with a large army, and marched so rapidly that the King of Jerusalem, whom the emir had by this time called to his aid, found the forces of Aleppo in possession of the city. The emir, indeed, fortified himself in the citadel; but he was soon induced to yield it on the promise of receiving the principality of Emessa; of which place he was ere long stripped by the faithless Noureddin, and was ultimately sent as an exile to Bagdad. These facts are told by one of the Attabec's most ardent panegyrists; and yet surely such acts are but those of a cunning and unscrupulous barbarian. I shall have more events of the same kind to record ere long, which must divest the character of Noureddin of every semblance of civilisation.

On the fall of Ascalon, it would appear a tribute had been promised by Egypt to the Christian princes of the Holy Land,† and a treaty of peace was concluded about that time,

* Monsieur Guizot, in speaking of Bernard, the treasurer, says: "En aucune autre chronique peut-être, la supériorité de civilisation et de générosité des Musulmans sur les Occidentaux ne s'y fait si bien sentir."

† See Mills.

or shortly after, between the khalif and the King of Jerusalem. The particulars of this transaction are very obscure, but, nevertheless, the principal facts are referred to by all the Arabian historians. In 1157, however, the Egyptians accused the Franks of some breach of the treaty, and the war recommenced on both sides with great fury. An Egyptian fleet ravaged the coast of Gaza, and in the following year an army marched across the desert to attack the Holy Land. At the same time, Nouredin renewed his efforts towards the east of Palestine, routed a large body of the Knights of the Hospital, and attacked the city of Paneas. The approach of the King of Jerusalem forced him to raise the siege; but Baldwin suffered himself to be deceived by a feigned retreat, dismissed the greater part of his troops, was attacked in an irregular march from Paneas by the whole forces of Nouredin, and totally defeated, escaping from the lost battle only by the swiftness of his horse. Surrounded by the enemy, and panic-stricken by the sudden and unexpected attack, the Christian knights for once forgot their renown, and multitudes of them surrendered after a very slight resistance. A number were killed, however, in the first onset, and Nouredin returned with his prisoners in triumph to Damascus. The procession with which he entered the gates of that city is described by one of his biographers in the work called the "Two Gardens;" and certainly we can find no traces of his boasted civilisation here. The foot soldiers of the Christian army were marched in, bound together four and four, and three and three. The men at arms were mounted on their horses, and covered with their helmets and coats of mail; but the most celebrated knights, selected from the rest, appeared two and two, tied upon camels, and each pair forced to bear a standard, from which hung the bloody scalps of their friends and companions who had fallen upon the field of battle.

There can be but little doubt that the talented but barbarous Prince of Aleppo had his eye at this time upon the throne of Egypt, and he maintained with the vizier of the khalif a constant communication, from which he derived considerable pecuniary assistance. Still his principal object was the destruction of the Christian power in the east, and for the accomplishment of this purpose he called in the aid of

religious enthusiasm, denominating his efforts to recover Palestine from the Franks "the sacred war,"* and summoning all his people to aid him in establishing the faith of Mahommed. Shortly after his victory at Paneas, however, on his return, it would seem, from an ineffectual attack upon the city of Nepa, Nouredin was seized by a malady which threatened to cut him off suddenly in the career of glory. His army fell into disorder, and he himself, unable to sit his horse, was borne back to Damascus in a litter.

Had the Christians, at that moment, been in a state to attack the territories of their enemy with promptitude and decision, they might have regained all that the Attabec had taken from them; but the great losses they had lately sustained had weakened them so much that they were forced to ask the aid of some Armenian princes, and then only succeeded in capturing the town of Schaizar and the fortress of Harem.

In the mean while, the illness of Nouredin grew more severe, and no hope was entertained of his life. His brother, Nasreteddin, immediately advanced to seize upon Aleppo; and all the principal emirs who had shared his fortunes, and contributed to his success, now prepared to divide amongst them those vast dominions which he had endeavoured to consolidate. Two of the principal chiefs who had served under the great Attabec, were brothers of a Curdish family, named Schircou and Ayoub; the latter had been entrusted by Nouredin with the government of Damascus, and was a man of great skill and penetration. Schircou, on the contrary, was, it would appear, at the head of a large body of Nouredin's troops, and the most powerful of his generals. Thus situated, without loss of time, the latter repaired to Damascus, not doubting to obtain his brother's assistance in making himself master of Syria. Ayoub, however, judged more wisely; he represented to Schircou that there was still a chance of Nouredin's recovery, advised him to hasten to Aleppo, and defend it against Nasreteddin, in the name of Nouredin, and promised, if the monarch did die, to open the gates

* The work which first raised the reputation of Bohaeddin to the high pitch to which it attained in Syria under the reign of Saladin, had for its title "The Sacred War," and was little else than a vigorous and vehement exhortation to his fellow-Mussulmans to extirpate every other religion than that of Mahommed.

of Damascus to him, and seat him on the Syrian throne. Schircou saw the wisdom of advice which, instead of one solitary principality, offered the prospect of uniting Damascus and Aleppo under his own rule, and he hastened to follow the counsel of his brother. Noureddin recovered; Nasreteddin was forced to flee from his indignation; and Schircou, with his services apparent and his treason undiscovered, received the thanks of his master for preserving Aleppo. The favour of the Attabec monarch now showered honours and distinctions upon the house of Ayoub; and his son, Salaheddin, known to the European world under the name of Saladin, by which I shall henceforth designate him, was called unwillingly, from a life of luxurious sloth, to take a prominent part in the great revolutions of the east.

The war continued without interruption between Noureddin and the King of Jerusalem, and success hovered alternately over the banners of either host. On the 14th of July, 1159, fortune showed itself favourable to the Christians, and compensated for the defeat at Paneas, by giving Baldwin a decided victory over Noureddin and his general, Schircou, in the Tiberiad. But it is to be remarked, that although the qualities of Noureddin and of Baldwin were certainly great, both as generals and as statesmen, yet neither of them possessed that comprehensive genius which alone can conceive vast and well organised schemes, and pursue them through all their details with unity of purpose and undeviating continuity of effort. Indeed, through the whole wars to which the Christian occupation of Palestine gave rise, during the twelfth century, the effects of personal ambition and individual cupidity in frustrating great efforts, ruining mighty enterprises and rendering genius itself of no avail, is lamentably apparent. We find striking instances in every page of the history of those times to prove that selfishness, merely contemptible in a humble individual, is, in the man endowed with vast powers, destructive not only of all around him, but of his own greatness, and subversive of his best schemes and most eager purposes. Both the monarchs whom we have seen opposed to each other suffered themselves to be turned aside continually by the prospect of some petty advantage from greater objects of endeavour, and we never find any victory, such as that which Baldwin gained in the Tiberiad,

followed up with the energy which might have derived from it the greatest portion of advantage.

On the present occasion, nothing seems to have been attempted afterwards, and Nouredin soon recovered from the check he had received.

An alliance which might have proved of the greatest benefit to the kingdom of Jerusalem, had any vigour been left in the eastern empire, took place in the same year between Baldwin and a niece of the Emperor Manuel. That monarch himself, some short time afterwards, marched into Syria at the head of immense forces, showing with what ease, if he had thought fit, he might have guided the leaders of the second crusade on their way to Antioch. The object of his expedition, however, was not to aid the Christians of Jerusalem, or to depress the enemies of his faith. He had two purposes, but both of them were directed against princes of the same creed as himself. The first was to punish Regnault of Châtillon, Regent of Antioch, who had invaded the island of Cyprus; the other was to reduce to vassalage the Armenian prince, Thoron, who had risen to immense power during the struggles between the Franks and the Mussulmans.

The emperor was joined by Baldwin almost immediately after his arrival, and at the intercession of the latter, Regnault was pardoned, and received into favour on making atonement; while Thoron gave up some of the places he had acquired, and acknowledging his feudal dependence on the Greek, was permitted to retain the rest.

Had the emperor been so disposed, when his vast forces were congregated at Antioch, and the King of Jerusalem with a great number of his barons was present, he might have swept away the dangers which surrounded the Christian kingdom in Palestine, and established the throne of Baldwin beyond the might of any Mussulman prince to shake it. Egypt was still occupied by the struggles of various ambitious men. Nouredin's power had been diminished both by the disorders which had taken place during his sickness, and by the loss of a great battle: his troops were scattered, his friends disheartened, and he, who had been barely able to oppose with success the Latin sovereign of Jerusalem, could never have resisted the efforts of that monarch, supported by the whole forces of the Greek empire. But Manuel did not

choose to seize the golden opportunity. He advanced some way beyond Antioch, it is true; but Noureddin felt so forcibly the difficulties of his own situation, that he entered into negotiations with the emperor, and agreed to deliver up six thousand Frankish prisoners of the highest rank, who had remained in captivity since the battle of Paneas.* Manuel, very ready to be mollified, made no further effort, and after spending some time at Antioch in pleasures and amusements, he retired from Syria, and returned to his own capital.†

The King of Jerusalem was not destined long to enjoy the happiness of domestic life. Shortly after the departure of the emperor, Regnault de Chatillon was captured by the Turks, and carried to Aleppo, and the Princess of Antioch applied to Baldwin for support and assistance during his captivity. Baldwin was at the moment engaged in a task somewhat difficult and unsatisfactory. Manuel was now a widower, without male heirs, and he proposed to marry either a princess of Antioch or of Tripoli, leaving the choice to Baldwin. The king, after much deliberation, fixed upon the Princess of Tripoli as the future bride of his wife's uncle; but the marriage was deferred by Manuel, under various pretences, and it is not improbable that he had himself seen the Princess of Antioch, and preferred her personal appearance, as well as the situation of the territories to which he might lay claim as her husband.

Baldwin was very much offended at the emperor's conduct, and the Count of Tripoli was enraged and indignant; but the King of Jerusalem suffered himself to be appeased, and eventually aided in concluding the marriage between the emperor and the Antiochan princess. He had by this time proceeded

* These noblemen were not all taken at that battle, for some of them had been prisoners even before.

† Not only as an elucidation of the manners of the times, but in justice to the Emperor Manuel, we must not omit a trait which does honour to his character as a man, though it cannot remove the stains that rest upon him as a monarch. During a hunting expedition at Antioch, the horse of Baldwin fell with him, rolled over, and broke his arm. The emperor, who was at some distance, rode up, as soon as he was informed of the event, and dismounting from his horse, performed the part of surgeon with his own hands. He set the arm of his niece's husband, and not contented with that good office, continued to attend him till he was well, not suffering the bandages and cataplasms then in use to be applied or removed by any other person.

to the city of Antioch itself, for the purpose of putting it in a state of defence against the Turks; but finding himself somewhat unwell, he was persuaded to take some remedies from a Jewish physician attached to the Count of Tripoli. From that moment his health entirely failed, and he proceeded first to Tripoli, and then to Berytus, in a dying state. At the latter city he died, not without suspicion of poison, amidst the universal mourning of his people, who, notwithstanding several errors, had loved him during life, and acknowledged, when he was no more, that no such monarch had filled the throne of Jerusalem since the days of Godfrey of Bouillon.

Baldwin left no children to ascend the throne; and after some intrigues, unworthy of notice here, his brother Almeric received the crown, and prepared to rival Baldwin in military activity. Like Baldwin, he was handsome in person, though more corpulent; but his disposition seems to have been less amiable than that of his brother, and, indeed, the picture of this prince which has been transmitted to us by his own contemporaries is altogether less favourable than that of his predecessor. Nevertheless, his military talents must have been at least equal to those of Baldwin, for his successes were greater against greater obstacles, and his plans are characterised by a degree of unity and perseverance which marks, in general, genius of a superior order. Nor was he at all wanting in valour and enterprise, but his character was stained by the vice of avarice, which frustrated many of his best schemes, and, perhaps, by its effect upon his historians, deprived him of the reputation which was justly his due.

Scarcely had Almeric succeeded to the throne, when motives arose for renewing the war between Palestine and Egypt. The infant khalif died in 1160, and a prince, scarcely out of his boyhood, was appointed by the vizier in his stead. This new sovereign was Aded-liden-allah, the last of the Fatimite khalifs; but his nomination was immediately succeeded by contentions between the Vizier Schawer and a military adventurer of the name of Dargam. Schawer was deprived of power in Egypt, and forced to flee, taking refuge for a time amongst a tribe of Arabs, to which he is said to have been allied by birth, and watching the course of events from a place of refuge in the desert. In the mean time, either by the orders of Dargam or Schawer—it is not very clear which

—a tribute, which had long been paid to the Christians of Syria, was refused by the new dynasty,* and Almeric, eager to distinguish himself, called the other Christian princes to his aid, and determined to force the Egyptians to perform the treaty which they had entered into with his brother. The army which he commanded was one of the largest that Palestine had brought into the field for many years; but Dargam, who had been through life a successful soldier, did not shrink from meeting the King of Jerusalem, and advanced towards the frontiers of Egypt, followed by a countless host. A battle took place in the end of August, 1162, and after a severe struggle, the Egyptian forces were completely routed, and Dargam himself fled to the city of Pelusium. As the intention of Almeric was evidently to push his conquest still further, while the troops of Egypt, disheartened and dispersed, were in no condition to defend the territory of the khalif, Dargam, as a last resource, inundated the country, even at the risk of destroying the provisions of the people.†

Almeric retired to his own territories, but Schawer, who well knew that his rival had called upon himself the indignation of the whole body of the Egyptian emirs, of whom he had, shortly before, murdered no less than seventy at a banquet, hastened to the court of Nouredin, and besought his aid in recovering the authority of which he had been stripped. He offered one-third of the revenues of Egypt for assistance, which Nouredin was not at all disposed to refuse. The Emir Schircou was despatched, at the head of a large army, to reinstate the deposed vizier; and Dargam was encountered and killed, before the Christian army, which he had called to his support, could march to give him aid.‡ Schawer, however, proved ungrateful, or his Syrian friends

* Will. Tyr. lib. xix.

† Many historians, contemporary and subsequent, omit all mention of this first expedition against Egypt; but the account of William of Tyre, who was at the very time archdeacon of Tyre and governor of Almeric's son, Baldwin the Leper, does not admit of a doubt upon the subject.

‡ It has been very generally stated that Saladin accompanied his uncle, Schircou, in this first expedition; but upon examining more closely the account of the Arabian writers, I find that such was not the case, and that Saladin did not leave Syria till the second Egyptian expedition of Schircou, in 1167. Ibn-alatir distinctly states that Saladin was at the siege of Harem, in the principality of Antioch, which took place while Schircou was in Egypt.

were somewhat too exacting, and he, in turn, summoned the Franks to deliver him from the presence of Schircou.

Almeric, readily obeying his call, once more entered Egypt at the head of an imposing force, and after a number of skilful evolutions, which displayed greater generalship than is to be traced in any previous campaign throughout the whole history of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, he compelled the Syrian emir to quit the country, and then hastened back to oppose Nouredin himself, who had attacked the Christian dominions, in order to effect a diversion in favour of his army in Egypt.

During the campaigns in Syria of 1163 and 1164, the balance of success wavered, as usual, between the Turkish and Christian forces, and although the Attabac prince obtained several great advantages, he was surprised and defeated in the neighbourhood of Tripoli with such peril and loss that he narrowly escaped with life, and had the greatest difficulty in recruiting his forces. This victory, called the Battle of the Castle of the Curdes, is but slightly noticed by the Christian writers; but the Arabians dwell upon it largely, and speak of the reverses of their beloved leader so mournfully, that it is evident the loss must have been severe indeed. It is more than probable that those who obtained this great success were not aware of its extent, for we cannot suppose that Gilbert de Lascy, the Knight Templar who appears to have commanded on this occasion, would have failed to profit by his advantage, if he had been aware of the total destruction of Nouredin's forces.*

While Nouredin and Almeric continued the war in Syria, during the three following years, the Emir Schircou, having rejoined his sovereign, urged him importunately to undertake the conquest of Egypt, and to suffer him to conduct the expedition against that country. Nouredin, however, saw ambition through the veil of zeal, and resisted the entreaties of his general for a considerable time, till at length, it would seem, the fear of appearing lukewarm in the cause of Islamism

* This great battle is placed by the Arabian writers in the year 553 of the Hejira, but as I do not find the day mentioned, we are left in doubt whether this was 1163 or 1164. William of Tyre, however, places it in 1164, and gives us to understand that it took place while Almeric was absent in Egypt. His account is very much like that of Ibn-alatir.

induced him to yield. Towards the end of the year 1166, the rumours which spread over the whole country of immense preparations being made in Syria for the invasion of Egypt, gave notice both to the Franks of Palestine and to Schawer, the vizier, or rather Sultan* of Egypt, of the designs entertained by the Attabec for the subjection of that country.

The interests of Almeric and Schawer were now evidently the same; the authority of the latter was the direct object of assault, but the very existence of the Franks in Palestine could not be considered as secure for one moment, unless the projected occupation of Egypt by the forces of Nouredin were prevented from taking place. Schawer consequently summoned at once the King of Jerusalem to his aid, and Almeric called all his forces to his standard, and set out without a moment's delay. The latter reached the city of Pelusium, or Belbeis, and effected his junction with the Egyptians before Schircou could accomplish the longer march which he had to make; and the emir, proceeding by the deserts, and losing a number of men by the way, found himself suddenly in the neighbourhood of a superior adverse force. After various manœuvres to escape from this unpleasant predicament, the Syrian emir endeavoured, by specious allurements, to bring over Schawer and the Egyptians to his own party. He made vast promises, and summoned his vizier, by his faith in Mahomet, to aid him in exterminating the Franks, engaging, at the same time, to quit Egypt as soon as this great act of Mussulman policy was accomplished. Schawer was too wise, however, to trust to so dangerous a guest, and Schircou soon heard that the vizier had shown his letter to the Christians, and put the messenger to death.

The two armies were at this time encamped on the opposite banks of the Nile, but Schircou, who was evidently inferior in number to his adversaries, retreated before them, and Almeric, passing the river, pursued him with all speed. The Syrian forces were overtaken some short way beyond Hermopolis; and a battle being inevitable, the emir ranged his forces in order, giving the command of a large body to his nephew, Saladin, with orders to make a circuit, and attack the Christians in the rear, while he himself maintained the battle in front. The time occupied by the circuit taken by

* We find that the viziers of Egypt had adopted this title some time before.

Saladin afforded the King of Jerusalem an opportunity of attacking Schircou while his forces were diminished. For some time the battle was favourable to Almeric; Schircou was driven back, and on the eve of a total defeat, when the appearance of Saladin upon the field turned the fortunes of the day. Schircou rallied his battalion, Saladin charged the rear of the Christian army, and the day was still undecided when night fell and separated the combatants.* The Mahomedan writers claim a great victory for the Syrians, and adduce as a proof thereof, that the baggage of the enemy, and one of the principal leaders of Almeric's host, named Hugh of Cæsarea, fell into their hands. The Christians say that the result was doubtful, and it is certain that the whole of the allied army reassembled, and on the following morning passed calmly, and in good order, through a valley between two divisions of the Syrian army, which did not venture to renew the battle. Almeric only retreated to the town of Lamonia, or Elmonia, said to be ten miles from the field of battle, and there remained for three days; while Schircou, on the contrary, hastened rapidly to Alexandria, apparently expecting to be attacked by the way.

The Christian army followed, and endeavoured to blockade the city, having refreshed and recruited itself at Cairo; and Schircou, finding that the provisions in Alexandria and its immediate neighbourhood could not support his whole army, left his nephew, Saladin, with a thousand men in the town, and by a masterly march opened a way into Upper Egypt. The movements of Schircou produced considerable alarm in the mind of Almeric for the safety of Cairo; and although he

* It will be seen that this account of the battle is totally different from that given by Mills, and by almost all other European writers. The cause of this difference is, that I have taken my account of the battle chiefly from Ibn-aboutai, who received the description which he gives from Edrisi, who was present. This ocular testimony thus transmitted to us I conceive to be the best; but another reason for adopting it here, in preference to that of Ibn-alatir, is, that the statement of Edrisi is much more in harmony with that of William of Tyre than that of the other writer. Thus William of Tyre and Edrisi both state that Schircou was in the centre, and not on the left wing; that Schircou was on the eve of a complete defeat; that the recovery of the Syrian army was owing to the appearance of the corps commanded by Saladin, and that night fell before the battle was over. On all these points Ibn-alatir differs from both; but their concurring testimony must surely outweigh his authority, especially as we find that after the battle, if either army displayed the appearance of flying from the other, it was that of Schircou, who, says the historian of the Attabees, won the victory.

had made some progress towards reducing Alexandria by famine, the King of Jerusalem determined to march in pursuit of the Syrian commander. The inhabitants of Alexandria had supported Schircou zealously, but the idea of starvation alarmed them; and just as the Christian army was about to commence its second day's march in pursuit of the emir, one of the leading men of the city presented himself before Almeric, and promised to aid in expelling the troops of Saladin.* Schawer and the King of Jerusalem instantly returned to the attack, and now employed all those means for battering the walls which were customary in that age. Saladin resisted with the greatest determination and gallantry, and for three months kept the enemy at bay; but the famine had become intense; the defences were shattered at various points; it was evident the city could not hold out much longer, and messengers from the young emir announced to his uncle, who was still in Upper Egypt, that Alexandria must speedily be surrendered if he did not march to its relief.

On receiving this intelligence, Schircou began to descend rapidly towards Alexandria, but, hopeless of making any impression upon the Christian and Egyptian army, which had lately been augmented by reinforcements from Palestine, he sent for his prisoner, Hugh of Cæsarea, and by his intervention proposed to Almeric a convention, in virtue of which Alexandria should be surrendered, an exchange of prisoners take place, and the Frankish and Syrian forces be allowed to quit Egypt, and march peaceably back to their several countries. Schircou represented, in eloquent language, the pressing necessity which there existed for Almeric's return to Palestine, and that monarch himself was well aware that his presence in his own kingdom could not be much longer dispensed with.† The overtures for peace were favourably received by all parties; but Saladin demanded a complete

* William of Tyre, lib. xix. The account of Ibn-aboutai does not materially differ from that of the archbishop. He does not, indeed, mention that Almeric had commenced the siege before Schircou retired into Upper Egypt, or that any of the inhabitants of Alexandria took part with the Christians; but it is probable that even Edrisi, from whom he received his intelligence, through a companion of Saladin, did not know what passed without the walls, and in the Christian camp. For those facts I have relied on the Latin writers.

† The account of what passed in the Syrian camp was given to William of Tyre by Hugh of Cæsarea himself.

amnesty from Schawer in favour of the inhabitants of Alexandria,* and this having been granted, peace was proclaimed, and the two armies prepared to put in execution the terms of the treaty.

Saladin seems to have been given as an honourable hostage for the good faith of the Mahommedans, and remained for some time in the Christian camp, treated with the highest distinction.† Schawer entered the town in triumph; and it would appear that, forgetful of the amnesty which had been promised, he was about to punish such of the inhabitants of Alexandria as had espoused the part of the Syrians, but Almeric at once interposed, and forced his ally to abide by the treaty.

The King of Jerusalem would seem even to have conceived a personal regard for Saladin, for we find that he furnished him with ships to convey the sick and wounded of the young emir's army to Acre, promising them a secure passage through Palestine. At Acre, however, these invalids were seized upon by the commander in that city, and were ordered by him to be employed as slaves in a sugar-press; but Almeric was moved with much indignation when he heard it, and he instantly caused the Mussulmans to be conveyed in safety to their own country. These acts of good faith and generosity are recorded by a Syrian,‡ although European writers of a later date, while striving with an illiberal liberality to raise the character of the Mahommedans at the expense of their fellow-Christians, have totally forgotten to mention many such acts, which throw a bright light into the scene where too many dark shadows are apparent on all sides.

Schircou and the Syrian forces returned unsuccessful from Egypt; and Almeric, with the Christian host, having succeeded in all that he had undertaken, having frustrated the two most famous generals of Nouredin, maintained Schawer in authority, and forced the enemy to evacuate the territory in dispute, re-trod his steps to Ascalon in the month of August, 1167, after the most scientific campaign which we have yet seen in the holy wars.

* Ibn-aboutai.

† Will. Tyr.

‡ Edrisi, who was himself one of the invalids thus conveyed back by Almeric to his own country.

The struggles for Egypt, however, were not yet come to an end; Almeric had faithfully performed all his engagements to Schawer, and the vizier, or sultan, as we now find him called, had agreed to pay to the Frankish monarchs of Jerusalem an annual sum of 100,000 pieces of gold. Probably at his request, also, a chosen body of Christian troops were left under his command in Cairo, and to their charge he entrusted the gates of the city. An officer, whose functions seem to have been something similar to those of a resident consul, was appointed by the King of Jerusalem to conduct his affairs in Egypt; and the greatest harmony, it would appear, existed between the two powers at the period of Almeric's return to Ascalon.*

Both Schircou, however, and the Latin king, still fixed their eyes upon the land they had just left with feelings of ambitious cupidity, which nothing but the subjection of that country could satisfy; and we find that shortly after the return of the latter, very pressing applications were made to him from two quarters, urging him strongly to undertake at once the conquest of Egypt. Almeric had not long enjoyed an interval of repose in Palestine, when secret envoys from the emperor of the east proposed to him to unite the forces of Constantinople and Jerusalem in one great effort to overthrow the Fatimite rule on the banks of the Nile. The weakness of that country was pointed out to him, and the certainty that it must soon fall into the hands of Nouredin, if not seized upon by the Christians, was clearly demonstrated. It is proved that Almeric had so far forgotten his good faith as to agree to the designs of the emperor, and to send messengers for the arrangement of the whole plan, before Schawer had given him any cause for suspicion. Whether his treachery was discovered by the Egyptian prince, or whether the latter was but little behind the king in falsehood, I cannot tell; but rumours were speedily circulated of a frequent intercourse by couriers between Nour-

* It is clear from the accounts of the Mussulman writers themselves, that the treaty between Schircou and Almeric did not by any means stipulate that the king should withdraw his forces from Egypt; and the above facts mentioned by Ibn-alatir, as well as that of its being the banner of Almeric which was first planted on the pharos of Alexandria, on the surrender of the city—an important fact in feudal times—clearly show that the success of the campaign was entirely on the side of the allied Christian and Egyptian forces.

eddin and Schawer. There can be but small doubt that these reports were true, and that such a communication really did take place; and Almeric eagerly seized upon the apparent bad faith of his ally to justify his own dishonest purpose. The solicitations of the eastern emperor were not the only temptations which beset the King of Jerusalem. Ever since his return, the grand master of the Hospital, a brave, generous, unprincipled person, who had loaded himself, and the institution of which he was the head, with enormous debts, had urged the monarch to conquer Egypt, in the hope, we are told, of obtaining a share of the spoil. As soon as the expedition was determined, the Hospitallers hurried forward all Almeric's measures; the Latin sovereign affected vast indignation at his late ally, the whole country was called to arms, and one of the largest forces was collected which had ever yet issued forth from Palestine.

The Knights Templars, indeed, were not present at the array: jealousy of the Order of St. John is said to have mingled in their motives for absenting themselves; but they found a good excuse in the injustice of the war which Almeric was about to wage, and treating the pretence of Schawer's treachery with contempt, they declared that they would not draw the sword in so unrighteous a cause. Almeric, however, listened to no remonstrances, and in truth, the idea of the riches of Egypt seems to have been ever present to the imagination of that covetous sovereign, after he had once beheld them. It is clearly proved that in his former passage through the country, he had caused a curious statistical report to be made by his officers, of the produce and extent of every different district in Egypt which came under their notice; and we are assured by one of the Arabian historians, who never concealed any good trait in the character of Almeric, that to induce his knights and nobles to greater exertion, he had made a distribution of the territory amongst them before he set out upon the expedition.*

Whether in the first instance he was called by Schawer to Egypt or not, Nouredin did not suffer the Christian pre-

* Ibn-aboutai. Ibn-alatir, on the contrary, declares that Almeric was opposed to the invasion of Egypt, but Ibn-aboutai is still confirmed by the Bishop of Tyre, who was one of the envoys from Almeric to the Greek emperor.

parations to proceed unmarked : but in order to deceive the Syrian monarch, Almeric loudly gave out that his armament was destined for the attack of Emessa, and while on the march towards that place, he suddenly turned from his course, and advancing into Egypt, laid siege to Pelusium. It would seem that the King of Jerusalem had kept up some private correspondence with the Egyptian emirs, for no sooner had he entered the territory of the khalif than he was joined by several large bodies of Egyptians. Some fierce messages passed between him and the commander of Pelusium, who seemed determined to resist to the last ; but the town was taken by storm at the end of a siege of three days, and a terrible slaughter ensued. Almeric, indeed, treated the prisoners which fell to his share with lenity and consideration ; but his chiefs and the soldiery showed less compassion, and many cruelties were perpetrated, which in the end had an evil effect upon his own enterprise.

In the mean while, pressing entreaties had been addressed to Nouredin by his late enemy, Schawer ; and the sovereign of Aleppo and Damascus hastened to despatch into Egypt a large body of troops under Schircou and Saladin. Before the arrival of the Syrian army, however, the King of Jerusalem had approached Cairo, and commenced the siege of that city, which, we are assured, would have surrendered at once had not the inhabitants dreaded the fate of Pelusium. Old Cairo was burnt to the ground, and every preparation was made for the defence of the capital ; but the troops of Nouredin did not appear, and the vizier, knowing well the ruling passion of Almeric, offered that monarch an immense sum if he would quit the Egyptian territory peaceably. The King of Jerusalem could not resist the proposal : a part of the ransom was given at once, and a short delay was demanded for the payment of the rest. The covetous sovereign thereupon retired to the distance of a mile from Cairo, and during a considerable time Schawer amused him by delays and promises, till at length the news of Schircou's march with a large Syrian force spread itself through the camp, and caused Almeric to retreat to Pelusium. There the real number of the adverse army was ascertained, and finding it impossible to keep the field against such a body, Almeric retired from Egypt in the commencement of the winter, with

greater disgrace attending his arms than if he had lost ten pitched battles in the open field.

The events which took place in Egypt after the retreat of the King of Jerusalem, are in some degree obscure, the accounts of the Christians and of the Arabs being totally opposed. The former declare that Schawer rejoiced in his deliverance from the presence of Almeric, visited the Syrian camp every day, and placed the greatest confidence in Nour-eddin's general. Some of the Arabians, on the contrary, assert that he was machinating the ruin of Schircou, when, as a measure of necessity, the emir determined unwillingly to destroy him. Certain it is, however, that Saladin was the immediate instrument of his fall. The consent of the khalif to the removal of his vizier was easily obtained ; Saladin soon found an opportunity of seizing upon the unhappy Schawer, and, conveying him on foot to a tent, after some hesitation on the part of his uncle, the young Syrian struck off his head, it would seem, with his own hand. The moment this act was perpetrated, Schircou was invested with the dignity of vizier, and took the title of Malek-mansor, or the Invincible Sultan.*

The ambitious general did not enjoy his new dignity many days, having died between two and three months after the fall of Schawer. He had already distributed a part of the wealth and territory of Egypt amongst his followers ; and his nephew, Saladin, who had so greatly distinguished himself in the preceding wars, was appointed vizier in his place, notwithstanding the intrigues of many of the Syrian emirs of greater experience and wealth than himself. The motives which guided the khalif in the selection of Saladin, have been very differently stated by various authors, Arabian and European. One declares that the Egyptian sovereign, seeking to resume the authority of which his predecessors had been deprived by their ministers, named the young emir on account of his total want of power and influence in the Syrian army. Another asserts that his abilities, his experience, and, above all, his decision of character, were his recommendations

* The Arabian writers, though they differ as to the fact of Schircou's participation in the death of Schawer, Ibn-alatir representing him as opposed to that act, and Ibn-aboutai declaring that he was the first to propose his destruction, all agree that the khalif was most eager for the fall of his minister.

in the eyes of the khalif; and it would certainly seem that his military talents, his ambition, and his determined spirit, were already well known, both to the Syrians and Egyptians.

During a short period after Saladin's accession to power, it appeared to the eyes of most men that the authority of vizier had greatly decreased in his hands. He was known to be a lover of pleasure, supposed to be indolent by nature, and every one imagined that his harem would see more of him than the field. Nor was this impression removed by the resistance which he first offered to the dignity imposed upon him. As if overawed by the great destiny that awaited him, he refused, for a considerable length of time, to take possession of the high office which was offered, and even when he had accepted it, assumed no other title than that of lieutenant of Nouredin. In his letters to that monarch, he employed the very humblest language, and Nouredin himself merely addressed him as the Emir Saladin, and usually directed his commands to all the emirs of the army. Many of those officers, indeed, abandoned their young rival, and showed a disposition to disobey his commands; but Saladin, without taking any harsh measures, speedily contrived to reunite the Syrian troops in one compact and efficient body. The immense wealth of Egypt was at his command; his generosity was wise and discriminating; and, casting aside at once all the errors of his youth, he assumed that severity towards himself, and affability towards others, which characterised him ever afterwards. The khalif, who for a time seemed to have resumed the power which his ancestors had suffered to escape from their hands, fell back again into nothingness; and the vizier, though still retaining the simple title of lieutenant, exercised the supreme sway in Egypt.

Nouredin did not see the elevation of his young officer without some alarm, which daily increased as the authority of Saladin extended; and the events which succeeded, the extraordinary talents which that emir displayed, and the growing ambition which was soon evident, all increased his anxiety, not only respecting Egypt, but also in regard to the future destinies of his own family and dominions. One of his historians,* indeed, asserts, that so firm was his conviction of Saladin's ambition, and of his vast talents, that before his

* Ibn-aboutai.

death he bade his friends carry his son Ismael to Aleppo, prophetically announcing that ere long that would be the only portion of all his dominions remaining to his child. During his life, however, he continued to treat Saladin merely as his own officer, till the resistance of the Vizier of Egypt showed him that the struggle for authority must no longer be delayed.

In the mean while, the Christians of Palestine were filled with apprehension at the successful invasion of Egypt by Schircou. Shut in between that country and the Asiatic territories of Nouredin, with the fleets of the Mussulmans covering the seas, and their armies attacking them by land, they saw that the most dangerous extension of the Mahomedan dominion had taken place which had occurred since the first crusade, and Almeric determined to call every friendly power to his aid, and to make one great effort to expel the Syrians from Egypt.

Various events combined to give him a bright prospect of success; the Emperor of Constantinople, according to promises he had before made, sent a formidable fleet to the coast of Palestine, and the King of Jerusalem received intimation, about the same time, that the Nubians and other negroes, who for many years had exercised great power in Egypt, possessing some of the first offices of the state, and holding one entire quarter of the city of Cairo, had been irritated and alarmed by the proceedings of Saladin, and were determined to effect his overthrow. Their number was so great as to form a considerable army of itself; and the fleet* of the emperor of the east consisted of 150 galleys, with two

* Mills, in his History of the Crusades, gives a false impression of the conduct of the emperor, saying that the people of Jerusalem "despatched ambassadors to the princes of the west, and to the Emperor of Constantinople. The tale of woe was heard in Europe with cold commiseration; but Manuel prepared a considerable navy for the succour of the Franks." This would lead one to believe that it was in answer to an embassy from Almeric, on the occasion of the Syrian occupation of Egypt, that Manuel sent this fleet; more especially as Mills never mentions the embassy which the emperor, the year before, had sent to Almeric, urging him to undertake the conquest of Egypt, and offering the assistance of his navy. Now, it is possible that Almeric did send envoys to Constantinople, as well as to the Christian princes of the west of Europe; but the fleet had been promised long before, and was sent in fulfilment of that promise previous to any fresh application. The authority for these statements is William of Tyre, who was himself one of the envoys to the emperor in the year 1168, so that we can have no better information.

ranks of oars, 60 larger vessels fitted as transports, and 12 still larger vessels, for the purpose of conveying military stores and artillery. The situation of Saladin was now perilous in the extreme; fifty thousand negroes were ready to fall upon his rear the moment that he advanced against the Christians; and the whole forces of Palestine, feeling the necessity of a great effort, arrayed themselves under the banner of the king.

It was late in the year when the Christian army began its march from Ascalon; but before this fresh invasion of Egypt could take place, the aspect of affairs in that country had completely changed. The conspiracy of the negroes had been discovered to Saladin by the arrest of a messenger from their leader, the chief eunuch of the khalif's household, to the King of Jerusalem. The vizier concealed his knowledge of the secret till an opportunity presented itself for seizing upon the eunuch. This was not long ere it occurred; the negro was captured, his head struck off, and the lieutenant of Nouredin took possession of the palace, and put all his enemies therein to the sword. The rest of the negroes immediately rose, to the number of fifty thousand men, and for some time the result of the struggle between them and Saladin was very doubtful. During several days the narrow streets of Cairo were the scene of a bloody and determined battle between the Syrians and the Nubians; and Saladin at length only succeeded in expelling the negroes from the city by the terrible expedient of setting fire to the quarter that they possessed. The flames drove them across the Nile, after which another battle took place, and ended in the utter destruction of the revolted Nubians.

The army of the Christians, however, aided by the fleet of the emperor, was quite sufficiently strong to have enabled Almeric to carry on his operations against Saladin with every chance of success; but the result of his measures was not such as might have been expected. The first effort of the Christian army was directed against Damietta, but from the very first commencement of the siege, a sluggish inactivity was apparent in some of the principal leaders, which was generally, and apparently not without reason, attributed to treason in the camp. No such want of energy appeared on the part of Saladin. The moment the object of the Franks

became evident, he threw supplies into Damietta, prepared to march himself to its assistance, and sent messengers to Nouredin, beseeching aid. Nouredin, on his part, despatched fresh troops to aid the garrison of Damietta, and instantly invaded the Christian territories, to create a diversion in favour of his troops in Egypt. In the mean time, the climate seemed to co-operate with the enemies of the Franks; the rain came down in torrents, and a strong wind blowing from the south, carried down the fireships of the Syrians against the Greek fleet. Many of the vessels were destroyed in this manner, and at the same time provisions of all kinds found their way into the city. A negotiation ensued at the end of fifty days' siege, and a convention was entered into, the only advantage derived from which by the Christians was the liberty to retire unmolested, though unsuccessful.

The ravages which Nouredin had committed in Palestine during the absence of Almeric were very great; and his invasion would probably have had more fatal effects still, had not one of the most terrible earthquakes that ever took place in Syria recalled him to his own dominions to support and provide for his people under the disasters which it occasioned. The Syrian domination in Egypt was now fully established, and Saladin, in the double capacity of vizier to the khalif, and lieutenant to Nouredin, carried his excursions to the frontiers of the Christian kingdom, and ravaged the territories of Ascalon and Gaza. The Fatimite khalifs, however, and the Egyptian people who followed their faith, were considered, as I have said, in the light of heretics by Nouredin and his orthodox lieutenant, and the Syrians judged that a proper time had arrived for putting an end to the schism in the Mussulman religion. The Attabec, therefore, without much decent delay, commanded the young vizier to depose the khalif, and to change the public prayers which were offered weekly in the mosques on behalf of Aded. Saladin, it would appear, hesitated for some time, but at length, choosing a moment when the khalif of Egypt was ill, he caused his name to be omitted in the ordinary prayer, and that of the Khalif of Bagdad to be substituted in its place. This measure was first put in force in the mosques of the capital, but as the people submitted quietly to the change, it was soon extended

to the whole country. A few days afterwards, the unfortunate Khalif Aded died, and the dominion of the Fatimites was at an end.

In regard to the death of Aded, there will ever remain a doubt upon the minds of men, for we have no means of solving the question, whether it was produced by violent or natural causes. The Christians have asserted that Saladin slew him with his own hand; but not one of the Mussulman authorities countenance this statement, and it is not probable that they would have concealed a fact which many of the bigoted followers of Abbas would have thought honourable to the character of the vizier. The Khalif of Bagdad was as highly gratified by the fall of his rival as if he had obtained some power by the deposition of Aded; but Nouredin, on his part, was unwilling that the whole benefits of so great a revolution should fall to the share of his lieutenant, and he took steps without delay to secure for himself the sovereignty of Egypt. The communication between the Mussulman territories in Syria and in Africa had been both difficult and dangerous, since the Christians had been in possession of Palestine. No way existed for the armies of Nouredin to pass into Egypt, except through the deserts of Arabia, where his line of march was rendered doubly unsafe by the proximity of several Christian fortresses; and he now determined to open for himself a path which might connect the two great portions of his dominions, and also enable him to check the ambition of his lieutenant at any time that he should think fit.

Saladin had already taken possession of Ela on the Red Sea, and, shortly after the death of Aded, Nouredin summoned him to aid in the capture of Carac and Schaubec, two strong places to the east and to the south of the great lake Asphaltites. While Nouredin advanced on his side, Saladin, according to the orders he had received, attacked Schaubec, and reduced it to such a state that the garrison promised to surrender if it were not succoured within ten days. The Christians, however, in the mean time, represented to the young commander that if he aided Nouredin in making a road into Egypt, it would be for his destruction, not for theirs, that the Attabec would come; and Saladin, perceiving clearly the justice of their reasoning, retreated to Cairo

without waiting for the arrival of Nouredin, but excusing himself on the plea of the discontent and threatening aspect of the Egyptian people.

Nouredin, we are told, saw through the thin veil with which his lieutenant covered his designs, and threatened loudly to march at once into Egypt. On the other hand, Saladin became alarmed, and called his chiefs around him to deliberate upon the question of resistance; but his father, Ayoub, who had now joined him, checked the impetuosity of the young leader, and by his advice, a letter, in the most humble and submissive terms, having been written to Nouredin, the storm was turned away for the time. In the course of 1173, Nouredin determined to renew his attack upon Carac and Schaubec, and once more commanded Saladin to co-operate with him. The difficulties which had hitherto frustrated all efforts to carry on rapid and regular communication between one part of the Attabec empire and another were, about this period, obviated by one of the most singular establishments recorded in history. The use of carrier pigeons had long been known in the east, but in the year 1172, Nouredin established a regular post by means of these winged messengers, having chiefly in view, it would appear, to receive and transmit intelligence from and to Saladin.*

All the plans having been arranged for a combined campaign, the young emir left behind him his father Ayoub to govern Egypt during his absence, and set out to attack the fortress of Carac, as he had been commanded. Not long after his arrival under the walls of the fortress, the army of Nouredin, triumphing over all obstacles, was announced to be approaching rapidly, and his lieutenant was again seized with apprehension, perhaps from a knowledge that he had not been particularly faithful to the service of the Attabec. We are told, indeed, by the Arabian historians, that Saladin feared only to find himself obliged to obey where he had been accustomed to command; but whatever was his motive, an accident which befel his father in Egypt gave him a pretext for avoiding that interview with Nouredin which a few days' delay under the walls of Carac must have brought

* Ibn-alatir states that this pigeon-post was established throughout the whole of the Attabec's dominions, principally with a view to check the continual incursions of the Christians.

about. He retreated, then, before the arrival of the Syrian monarch, assuring his sovereign, with every expression of deference and respect, that the sole cause of this strange proceeding was, the fear lest Egypt, which had been left entirely under the government of Ayoub, should fall in a state of anarchy and confusion in case of the death of the old emir.

Though not deceived, Nouredin dissembled his resentment; and Ayoub dying within a few days, in consequence of the fall which had caused his illness, the Attabec discreetly observed that Saladin was quite right, as the preservation of Egypt was of much greater importance than the acquisition of a few frontier cities.

Nouredin was only apparently satisfied, but it was some time ere he could put his Syrian dominions in such a state as to justify him in contending openly with Saladin, especially as a new treaty had been concluded between the Christians of Palestine and the Greek emperor, during a visit which Almeric made to Constantinople in the year 1171, and as rumours of a new crusade were very general in the east. In the mean while, Saladin, in order to acquire for himself an independent territory, distinct from that which he had won in the service of Nouredin, turned his arms against Nubia and Arabia Felix, and reduced the whole of those wide districts to subjection. His successes only roused more and more the jealous suspicions of his sovereign; and, in the year 1174, Nouredin, laying aside all other considerations, determined to invade Egypt, and wrest the power from his lieutenant's hands. To secure his own territories, as far as possible, from the efforts of the Christians during his absence, he called his nephew, Saifeddin, from Moussoul, to occupy the districts which he was about to leave without other protection. Money, arms, and men, were procured from every quarter, in order to render resistance on the part of Saladin hopeless; and a strife seemed about to commence which, had it been destined to take place, might have averted from Palestine for many years the fate that very soon befel it.

But in the midst of his vast preparations, Nouredin was seized with a severe sickness; and either from rash confidence in his own strength of constitution, or from the fear of exciting once more the same turbulent emotion which had

followed his former fit of illness, he concealed his situation till nature could endure no more. A physician was then sent for, and found the sultan shut up in a small heated apartment to which he usually retired to say his prayers. On investigating the case, the physician discovered that his patient was nearly suffocated by a quinsy; and orders were immediately given for his removal to more open air; but before this could be effected, Nouredin expired. He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and left behind him the character of the greatest general and the wisest monarch who had ever contended with the Christians in Palestine. His cunning and his cruelty when displayed towards the enemies of his faith, were overlooked by his fellow-Mussulmans, who found plenty of precepts to excuse or justify such qualities in the law to which they were devoted; but those who strove to hold him up, as in every respect the purest and most zealous follower of their prophet, were somewhat puzzled to reconcile that personal ambition which sometimes trampled on the rights and overthrew the thrones of his brethren, with the humility, moderation, and devotedness which became the Mahommedan zealot. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that he was usually generous and confiding; and though he met with many checks and reverses, he was never cast down in adversity, or elated in prosperity. He abolished torture, rendered equal justice amongst his subjects, and to gentle laws added a mild administration.

In person, he was tall, and more powerful than his father, Zengui, with a scanty beard, but a handsome countenance, and an expression of great mildness. In domestic life, he was remarkably moderate and self-denying, and affected, above all things, to seek the glory of God and the extension of the Mahommedan religion.

Whatever satisfaction the death of Nouredin might afford to the Christians of Palestine, any advantage they might thence derive was more than counterbalanced by the loss of Almeric, which took place in consequence of a fever contracted before the city of Paneas, in the month of July, 1173 or 1174.*

* There is some slight doubt as to the dates of the death of Nouredin and of Almeric; but it is probable that the latter event is antedated by a year. It is certain, indeed, that Nouredin, according to the Arabic account, died on the

On succeeding to the throne of Jerusalem, that monarch had divorced his first wife, Agnes de Courtnay, on one of those pretences of relationship which were rarely wanting when any monarch of that age wished to break asunder the conjugal bond; but, by the same act which separated him from his former consort, it was declared that his children by the marriage were to be considered legitimate. Under these circumstances, his son, Baldwin IV., assumed the crown of Jerusalem, although in his blood appeared the terrible taint which the Christians of Europe had acquired in the Holy Land, and which is known to us under the name of "The Leprosy of the Greeks."

The leper monarch was amiable in disposition, active and energetic in mind; but even at the period when he ascended the throne, the dreadful disease with which he was afflicted had made great inroads on his constitution, and from that moment it proceeded with fearful rapidity. He was at the time of his accession thirteen years of age; and notwithstanding his illness and his youth, he was celebrated for his skill in managing a horse and performing all military exercises. In person he was remarkably handsome, except where the leprosy appeared; but a considerable part of his frame was rigid and insensible from the effects of his fatal malady.

Scarcely had he mounted the throne, when dissensions took place between the Count of Tripoli and Milon di Planci, the favourite of the king, and seneschal of the kingdom, but the death of the latter terminated the contest, and the count was named regent of the kingdom. His talent and his experience, his valour, his skill in war, and his knowledge of the Mussulman character, all seemed to promise success to his administration; but Saladin was by this time in the field, and all was destined to succumb before the genius of that most extraordinary man.

The operations of Saladin, whatever might be the general plan he laid out for himself, were for some time impeded by the discovery of a new plot against him, which extended to both Upper and Lower Egypt, and comprised many of the most important persons in the state. The conspirators not

15th of May, 1174, and yet William of Tyre, who represents Almeric as surviving him, places the date of the latter prince's death in 1173.

only called upon the Franks of Syria for aid, but also opened a communication with William the Second, King of Syria, who promised to send to their aid a fleet and army. Dissensions, however, took place amongst the members of the confederation; a preacher of Cairo, named Zineddin, revealed the plot to Saladin; and the principal conspirators were arrested, and put to the cruel death of crucifixion.

In Upper Egypt an insurrection, connected apparently with the conspiracy thus defeated, actually broke out, and the brother of Saladin, Malak-adel, was despatched against the rebels with an armed force. Here also much barbarous cruelty was shown in the punishment of offenders; and at length, by the employment of such severe means, order was restored. In the mean while, the Sicilian fleet approached Alexandria, landed a large body of troops which it contained, and aided in forming the blockade of the city. But the inhabitants themselves, supported by the emirs of the neighbouring country, made so gallant a defence, that before Saladin could arrive, they had defeated the Sicilian armament,* and forced it to retire with terrible loss.

The Christians of Palestine about the same time invaded the territories of Damascus, and attacked the city of Paneas. The greatest disorder reigned amongst the emirs of Nour-eddin; no force could be raised sufficient to meet the Frankish army, and the only resource of such of the Syrian princes as remained faithful to their master's son was to conclude a treaty of peace with the King of Jerusalem, offering him a large sum of money as the price of his retreat, and threatening if he did not immediately retire to call Saifeddin to their aid, the Sultan of Moussoul. At the same time, they declared that they would likewise apply to Saladin; but the counsellors of the king accepted the conditions offered, which we shall not pause to detail in full, and a treaty of peace was concluded, which, it must be remarked, as far as it concerned the Christians, referred only to the kingdom of Jerusalem, but neither to Antioch nor Tripoli.

With this treaty Saladin affected to be highly indignant; and while the spirit of disorder and peculation took possession

* Besides the Sicilian forces, the maritime cities of Italy, Venice, Genoa, and even Pisa, had sent men and galleys to the attack of Alexandria.—See a letter of Saladin's reported by Abouschame.

of the court of Ismael Malek Saleh, the young successor of Noureddin, his father's general marched rapidly forward to Damascus, declaring that he himself would make head against the enemies of the faith. Some of the Syrian emirs had undoubtedly called for his assistance; Saifeddin had seized upon all the territories of Noureddin on the other side of the Euphrates; insubordination was at its height in Syria, and Ismael had already retired to Aleppo when Saladin entered his territories. The latter, however, still continued to declare that his object was not to strip his master's son of his dominions, but to deliver him from the oppression of his nobles, and to restore him to his full authority. Nevertheless, Saladin took possession of Damascus, which was yielded to him readily, and then proceeded to reduce Balbec, Hameth, Cæsarea, and the other towns in Cœlosyria, being held at bay for a time by the citadel of Emessa. His movements now evidently threatened Aleppo itself, and the Count of Tripoli, with a just view of policy, determined to aid the friends of Ismael in checking the progress of the invader. He rightly considered that the treaty of peace lately concluded did not bind him from acting against Saladin, who had himself declared, in a furious manifesto addressed to the emirs of Syria, that it only affected the sovereign of Aleppo and Damascus.

The count, therefore, advanced with the forces of Jerusalem, and encamped in such a situation that he could easily succour either Aleppo or the citadel of Emessa, which still held out. The solicitations and promises of the garrison of the latter place soon induced him to march towards it; but the discovery of some double dealing, and probably the fear of treachery, caused him to retrace his steps, and Emessa was left to its fate. He still hung upon the borders of Noureddin's kingdoms, however, and watched the proceedings of his great adversary.

About the same time, tidings reached Saladin that Saifeddin was marching with an immense force to attack him, and he saw the necessity of instantly choosing his line of conduct and acting upon it, so as to permit of no communication between the two enemies who stood in the path of his ambition.

With the Christians he thought he might suspend the struggle which was ultimately to take place; with Saifeddin,

he knew the dispute must be determined immediately, and by the sword; and, without attempting to treat with the Count of Tripoli at a moment when the danger in which he was placed must necessarily render the conditions of peace oppressive, he marched at once against Saifeddin, encountered him in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and defeated him with a terrible slaughter.* Saladin then returned towards Emessa, where the tidings of his great victory had preceded him; and he found the Count of Tripoli, who had wasted the time of action in fatal inactivity, willing to listen to terms of accommodation.

Many noble princes from amongst the Christians had been captured at different times, and had afterwards been liberated on giving hostages for the payment of immense ransoms. These hostages had fallen into the hands of Saladin on the capture of the various towns in Syria; and he now showed how little he had been really actuated by zeal for the Moslem faith when he condemned the treaty between Ismael and Baldwin, by offering to give them up without any ransom, on the condition of the Christians entering into a truce with him, and suffering him to pursue his ambitious views upon the empire of Nouredin. The negotiation was speedily concluded; Humphrey of Thoron conducted the discussions on the part of the Christians, and incurred much blame for the facility with which he acceded to Saladin's proposals. The hostages were discharged, and Saladin took care to send splendid gifts to the various leaders of the Frankish host. The forces of the Count of Tripoli retired within their own frontier, and Saladin was let to follow out his designs against the son of his benefactor.

That unfortunate prince, now totally unsupported, saw himself menaced in Aleppo by a strong and victorious army, and was glad to enter into a treaty with Saladin, by which it was agreed that each should retain that which he already possessed. By this convention Saladin was confirmed in the absolute rule of Egypt and the greater part of Syria, with vast tracts lying to the south and east, the boundaries of which it might be difficult to define.

* The account of William of Tyre is more complete in regard to these events than that of any of the Arabian historians which I have met with, and in all points of any importance his statement is confirmed by theirs.

He now took the title of sultan for the first time, but had very nearly perished in the outset of his ambitious career. While his army was before the walls of Aleppo, Saladin was more than once in extreme peril from the daggers of the Batenians, or Assassins, a sect who pursued their object with a degree of pertinacity and determination which has too seldom accompanied the performance of better deeds. On one occasion, while attacking the small fortress of Ezaz, in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, three of these men assailed the great Syrian leader, one after another, a fresh assailant springing upon him as soon as the one who preceded was slain. The sultan escaped, though with a severe wound in the cheek; and pursuing his victorious course, he speedily reduced all those places which ventured to hold out after his treaty with Malek Saleh.

But a few months were suffered to elapse, ere war recommenced between the sultan and the Christians, and it is evident, from the account of William of Tyre, that the King of Jerusalem was the first to take up arms. I find no reason whatsoever assigned for the apparent injustice of this conduct; and the account given of Baldwin's motives by William of Tyre is altogether vague and unsatisfactory. He merely states that the king, understanding the territory of Damascus had been left in an exposed state, collected his army, invaded and pillaged it; and I am consequently led to believe that nothing further than a temporary suspension of hostilities was covenanted by the treaty of Emessa. Saladin, we are told, was at this time occupied at Aleppo; and during the autumn of the same year the Christian forces once more entered the Mussulman territory, encountered the sultan's brother, who had remained in command of Damascus, and totally defeated him.

Notwithstanding these successes, however, no eye could fail to see that dark clouds, portending a coming storm, were gathering round the kingdom of Jerusalem. The power of Saladin was extending on every side, and in all his dominions his authority was becoming more and more solid and immoveable each day. His cunning policy, as well as his valour and military skill, his unscrupulous ambition, as well as his daring decision of character, overawed all around him. The neighbouring princes of his own faith looked up to him with

apprehension, and dreamt not of assailing any part of his territories. All were eager to see him turn his arms against the enemies of their common faith, and the expectation of great events in Palestine was universal, both in the eastern and the western world.

In the year 1176, an event which occurred in Asia Minor changed expectation into alarm, though it did not absolutely affect the kingdom of Jerusalem. Manuel, the Emperor of Constantinople, having marched against the Turks of Iconium, was encountered by Kilig Arslan II., in the neighbourhood of that city, and totally defeated. Consternation spread throughout Europe at the news; and the prelates and clergy, both of Palestine and Europe, renewed all their efforts to induce the monarchs of the west to undertake one more grand expedition for the deliverance of Palestine from the impending dangers. Such was the state of the warfare in the east in the year 1176, and such was the aspect of all things when Henry the Second of England and Louis of France pledged themselves to take the cross, at the conferences of Ivry.

The digression which has been here made, although extremely long, has not been unnecessary, for there is scarcely one even of the minute points whereof I have treated in this account of the crusades, to which I may not have occasion to refer in the pages that follow. It was requisite, then, to give the reader a full and distinct notion of the situation in which Palestine was placed at the commencement of the reign of Richard the First; and even had I been permitted to take for granted that the reader was acquainted with the previous accounts of the crusades, I discovered, while making the necessary investigations for the composition of this work, so much new matter, which had never yet been told in the English language,* and perceived so many errors in what

* In using this expression, I wish to imply no censure upon preceding writers, as, in the sketch of the crusades which I myself gave some years ago, in a short history of chivalry, much was necessarily omitted, from the brevity of the work, and a great portion of the matter which I have since collected was then unknown to me. Any one, also, who will cast their eyes over the second volume of Mr. Mills' History of the Crusades, will perceive that he has omitted almost all the important and interesting events which took place during the first part of the reign of Baldwin the Leper, which had an immediate connexion with the affairs of Europe at the time, and especially prepared the way for the third crusade under Richard.

had been written, that I found it necessary to notice, even more minutely than I at first proposed, the details of those great and important transactions.

By another strong consideration, also, I felt myself called upon to dwell at large upon the history of Palestine before the crusade of Richard; for the habits, manners, and characters, both of individuals and nations throughout all Europe, were materially affected by the extraordinary state of things in the east. The views, the purposes, the feelings, of the Christian world—nay, the very language itself, took a tone from the crusades, and we find the idea of the Holy Land, and of an expedition to that country, continually mingling with the thoughts, conversations, and arrangements of private men, and the wars, negotiations, and treaties of princes.

BOOK IX.

It has been justly observed, that in the proposed expedition of Henry the Second and Louis of France to the Holy Land, the latter appeared as a voluntary crusader, the former as a banished criminal. The one was sincere in his purposes, zealous in the cause of Christian Palestine, and anxious to wipe out the memory of former loss and disgrace incurred in that country, by some splendid action performed in its behalf. The other was driven by the sentence of the court of Rome to repeat his promises of taking the cross, without any desire, and perhaps without any intention of fulfilling them. We must not, indeed, suppose that the King of England was free from the superstition of his age, or that he could divest his mind of the belief that the proposed expedition was in itself meritorious before God. One of Henry's first acts after his return to England in the year 1178, of which we now speak, was to visit the shrine of Becket, in company with the Archbishop of Rheims, and he there performed his devotions with edifying piety and zeal. The king's next act was to knight his son Geoffrey, and send him over to hold tournaments in his duchy of Brittany, by no means an unnatural sequent to an act of superstitious penitence.

In the following year, a number of the English bishops were called to Rome for the purpose of assisting at a great council of the Lateran, where many very important decrees were announced; on which, however, I shall not dwell here, only noticing such of this council's proceedings as had an immediate reference to the King of England or his dominions.

One of the canons of the year 1179 was directed against an heretical sect which had sprung up in the county of Toulouse, the tenets of which have been confounded with those of the Waldenses, whether justly or unjustly, it may be unnecessary to investigate in this place.* I find them called Agenenses, Cathari, Patarini, and Publicans; and it would appear that they entertained many of the opinions of the Manichæans. They acknowledged two great principles, one of good and one of evil, held marriage to be unlawful and even damnable, and clung to various errors which would seem to have been originally derived from the Gnostics. Coupled with the heretics of Albi in the censures of this council, we find the Brabançois and other licentious troops, whom Henry the Second had been forced to employ during the contest with his sons, but had discharged as soon as the war was over. These ferocious soldiers, suddenly cast into idleness, had spread themselves throughout the country, pillaging wherever they came, and Alexander now preached a positive crusade against them, declaring it lawful to slay them in battle, or to reduce them to slavery when taken, and promising all the benefits and indulgences which were granted to those who engaged in the holy war to such persons as took arms against a body of men to whom he attributes the most atrocious crimes.

While Henry the Second was enjoying in England a short period of repose, Prince Richard pursued his successful career in Aquitaine, reducing to obedience the revolted nobles of that territory, and meeting with no check in his military proceedings. Castle after castle, and town after town, fell

* That this heresy arose exactly in the same districts which afterwards acquired a terrible renown from the crusade of De Montfort and the fate of the Albigenses, there can be no doubt, as the decrees of the Lateran, ann. 1179, point by name to Albi as the birthplace of the sect. That the principles were the same as those of the subsequent Albigenses, and were Manichæan, there is every reason to believe.

before him ; and such was the terror of his arms, that the people of the country, in some cases, seized and imprisoned their leaders, rather than encounter their offended prince. No one, during the whole course of the war, made so determined a resistance to the authority of Richard, no one offered more insulting provocation, than the brave and celebrated Geoffrey de Rancun, who trusted not alone in his own valour, but in the courage and military habits of his people, and in the number of strong places which his territory contained. The most defensible of all these was the town and castle of Taillebourg, which formed a fortress so formidable that, we are assured, no one had hitherto ever attempted to take it by siege. The city was surrounded by triple ditches and triple walls, having numerous towers in the curtain, and being defended by a race of military citizens accustomed to consider themselves invincible. Above the town rose a citadel, not inferior in point of strength to the rest of the fortress, which, at the time when Richard determined to march against it, had been put in the most complete order for resisting an attack. All sorts of provisions and implements of war had been collected within its walls, and, to use the words of Diceto, the approach of the prince alarmed the garrison but little.

Richard entered the territory of Geoffrey de Rancun in the beginning of May, excited to the highest pitch of fury by the bold rebellion of that lord. Nothing at first resisted him, and fire and sword consumed the country round ; till at length, advancing upon Taillebourg itself, he commenced the attack with his usual vigour and determination. His engines were immediately placed to batter the walls, but so confident were the citizens in their own strength that a large body of the troops within, in scorn of his power, determined to issue forth and attempt to surprise him in his camp. Richard, however, was ready to receive them. He called his men instantly to arms, attacked the forces which had ventured beyond the walls, routed them completely, and giving them not a moment's pause, drove them, sword in hand, back into the town, and passed the gates with them at the head of his troops. Pursued hither and thither in every direction by a victorious enemy, only a small part made their escape and took refuge in the citadel ; but the castle itself could not

long hold out, and surrendered also on Ascension-day in the same year, 1178. Richard immediately levelled the walls of the fortress to the ground, and having spent another month in reducing various castles and towns in the vicinity, he saw the revolt crushed for the time by the submission of the Count of Angoulême.*

After closing the campaign with so much honour to himself, the warlike prince returned to join his father, Henry, in England; but notwithstanding all the engagements which the British monarch had entered into, no further steps were taken, either to solemnise Richard's marriage with Adelais, or to prepare for the proposed crusade. It is not improbable, indeed, that Henry looked forward to the prospect of being delivered, by the death of the King of France, from the urgent remonstrances of one who had a right to press for the execution of his engagements in both these respects, as the health of Louis had been materially impaired by many severe exertions, and he was in the seventieth year of his age.

The French monarch himself felt his strength daily declining, and, in 1179, determined to associate his son to the throne, for the purpose of ensuring that, in case either of his own departure for the Holy Land, or of his decease, no confusion of any kind might take place in the arrangements of the state. In conformity with this resolution, Louis summoned his court of peers, and with their consent made all the preparations for the coronation of the prince. In the month of July, however, in the same year, an accident occurred which had very nearly terminated fatally for the hopes of France. The heir-apparent of the crown and his father were at Compiègne, when Philip, having received permission to hunt in the neighbouring forest, was separated from his attendants, lost himself in the wood, and for many hours was wandering about in great terror. At length a charcoal-burner, returning from his work, found the royal child just as night was beginning to fall, and conveyed him to the palace. But hunger, fatigue, and terror, had so shaken the constitution of the prince, that he was seized with a malignant fever, and in a very few days his life was despaired of.

His father, Louis, was full of grief and anxiety; but instead

* Diceto. Hoveden.

of staying to watch the sick bed of his son, he determined to apply for miraculous assistance at the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, who was then, perhaps, the saint in most general repute throughout both France and England.* Several of his barons opposed his intention of venturing into the dominions of a powerful and inveterate enemy; but the king remained obstinate, and Henry justified the confidence which Louis placed in his honour and integrity. He hastened to meet and welcome the French monarch on his arrival in England, conducted him in person to the shrine of the martyr, and knelt with him before the tomb of that man who had been the cherished friend of the one and the malignant foe of the other.

The result of Louis's expedition was favourable to the fame of St. Thomas. It had been so happily timed, that the crisis of the young prince's disease occurred exactly at the moment when his father was praying in Canterbury cathedral. An immediate improvement took place in his health, and everybody attributed it to the king's influence with the canonised bishop.

The royal offering at the shrine of St. Thomas had been a magnificent cup of gold, and in gratitude for the alteration which had taken place, Louis added an annual donation of certain tuns of fine wine, which we may well suppose proved as agreeable to the monks as the chalice which he had at first given. The King of France returned without delay to his own territories, and on his arrival at Compiègne, found Philip so much better, that the coronation was fixed for All Saints'-day in the same year; but before that period the old monarch, who had long been threatened with palsy, suddenly lost the use of his right side, and was thus prevented from witnessing the ceremony himself. He insisted, however, that the coronation should take place, and it was accordingly celebrated at Rheims on the day appointed. The younger Henry

* The three great altars in Canterbury cathedral, were those of Christ, of the Virgin, and of St. Thomas à Becket; and it is proved, by the returns of the offerings received at each, that the altar of Christ itself was nearly abandoned—some years receiving nothing, in others only a few shillings—while an immense revenue was collected at the altar of the saint. Even the shrine of the Virgin suffered considerably from the proximity of the murdered bishop, which for a Roman Catholic country is very extraordinary.

of England was present upon the occasion, and held the crown over the head of Philip Augustus. From the fact of his having done so, many conjectures have arisen, as to what part he did actually play in the coronation. Some writers assert that he appeared there merely as a guest, and that he raised the crown of the young king simply because Philip, greatly weakened by his late illness, was unable to support the fatigue of bearing the heavy bauble through a long ceremony. Others, on the contrary, declare that he appeared there to perform his feudal service as Count of Anjou, and seneschal; while some would fain extend the act that he performed to some recognition of fealty in the English crown to that of France;* but it seems very generally agreed by all men that it would have been much better, in every point of view, had the English prince been absent altogether.

On his return from his coronation, Philip found his father fallen into such a state of mental and corporeal decrepitude, that no hope existed of his ever again being able to sway the sceptre of France; and the whole concerns of a mighty nation fell into the hands of a boy of fifteen, surrounded by powerful, turbulent, and ambitious vassals. Some time before Louis the Seventh breathed his last, the struggle for power commenced with a violent contest for the direction of the young king. The great house of Champagne, on one side, had high claims upon authority, as from it sprung the brothers of the queen, the uncles of Philip. They also had the habit of rule in their favour, for by them had been governed the court of Louis the Seventh, during the whole

* A gentleman of the name of Capefigue has lately published a history of Philip Augustus, which has been, what he calls, crowned by the Institute; and in which, he says, without entering into any absurd pretensions of the crown of France over the crown of England, that Henry the Second himself was present at the coronation of Philip Augustus, and held the crown over his head, an error of the most extraordinary kind, which a very slight portion of study would have prevented him from committing. The fact of the younger Henry being present at the coronation of his brother-in-law, evidently created alarm in the minds of the English people, lest it should be construed into any recognition of superiority on the part of France. The words in which Diceto mentions it are as follow:—

“*Henricus rex, Henrici regis Angliæ, filius, et Philippi regis Francorum sororius, regis consecrationi Remis interfuit, solius affinitatis incitatus et invitatus intuitu. Dum enim Britannia pœne nomen orbis alterius mereatur, dum divisos orbe Britannos frequenter audieris, restat ut et id audias, quod nullus Britanniae vel Angliæ rex quempiam regem Francorum aliqua specie subjectionis, aliquo tempore superiorem agnoverit,*” etc.

of the latter part of his life. Their knowledge, their talents, and their power, gave them great claims, and the inferior vassals of the crown were in general willing and accustomed to obey them.

On the other hand, however, appeared the Count of Flanders, whose conduct in the wars of the Holy Land had, it is true, won him anything rather than renown. But he was artful, politic, secret, and had acquired a strong hold upon Philip's affection, which was far from the case with the princes of the house of Champagne. Even the mother of the young sovereign seems to have lost his regard; and we find that almost immediately after his coronation, he solemnly engaged himself to marry Isabella of Hainault, niece of the Count of Flanders.

The evident ascendancy of the latter prince over the mind of the young king, had already alarmed his uncles and his mother, and disputes ensued, in the course of which he drove forth from his court various noblemen of distinction; and the queen herself, with the Count of Champagne, and other gentlemen of her party, proceeded to Rouen, and held a conference with Henry the Second, beseeching him to aid them in expelling the Count of Flanders from the counsels of Philip. Henry did not hesitate to agree to their request, and not only promised the assistance of his troops in Normandy, but also offered to bring forces from England in case the confederates should need such support. At this time, it would appear, the agreement entered into between the young king and the Count of Flanders, had not been made public; but scarcely had the conference at Rouen taken place ere Philip proceeded to Bapaume, and there united himself in marriage to the niece of the Count of Flanders.

This indissoluble bond between himself and that prince, at once changed the views of his mother and his uncle, nor could Henry desire to drive from the court of the French monarch a nobleman thus connected with him. The English king, therefore, had recourse to mediation between the two contending parties, and in a conference* which took place

* The whole of this matter is misstated by Monsieur Capefigue, who places the quarrel between Philip and his mother subsequent to the death of Louis the Seventh, whereas the meeting between Henry and the young King of France took place in June, 1180, and Louis himself did not die till September of that year.

at Gisors, between the monarch of England and the young sovereign of France, Philip agreed to afford his mother a proper dowry, and to receive his uncles, and all the other noblemen who had abandoned, or been driven from his court, into favour once more, while they bound themselves to leave the Count of Flanders unmolested. About the same time Henry concluded with Philip a treaty, by which the convention entered into between himself and Louis, in 1170, was confirmed. Each sovereign took the dominions of the other under his protection; and each agreed to leave all points in dispute to the decision of certain arbitrators.

The harmony thus established in France was not of very long duration, though the interruption of tranquillity was not owing to any new contest between the queen and her son, but rather to the ambitious grasping of the Count of Flanders, who put forth a claim to some territories not belonging to him, and encouraged a rebellious vavasour of the young Count of Clermont, one of Philip's dearest companions and friends, to throw off his lord's authority and claim of Flanders in chief.

While these events were in progress, however, and before Philip had taken part in the dispute, Henry, who had passed the spring at Chinon, returned to Normandy, and held a conference with the young king at St. Remi, on the frontiers of their dominions. This was in the end of April, in the year 1181; and by the death of his father, in September of the preceding year, Philip was now actually king of France. His mother and the Archbishop of Rheims had by this time gained the most complete ascendancy over him, and their gratitude towards Henry being unbounded, Philip was induced to make great concessions to the English sovereign,

That this meeting is the same at which the agreement regarding the Queen of France was entered into is clear, from the testimony of Diceto, the very author cited by Monsieur Capefigue, who mentions the whole facts, gives the date of the meeting between the two kings—namely, on the vigil of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, otherwise the 28th of June, and also gives the treaty between the two kings, with the date, the fourth Calends of July, which, reduced to our own calculation, is also the 28th of June. Thus there can be no earthly doubt that the quarrel between the queen and her son took place before the death of Louis, and not after, as Monsieur Capefigue asserts. The matter is of importance, inasmuch as the whole transactions of that period have been placed in a false point of view, and arguments affecting the most important questions of policy have in our own day been raised upon this unsubstantial foundation.

promising to be guided entirely by his advice and counsel in all things.

The meeting of the two kings was attended by knights of the Temple and the Hospital, bearing letters of exhortation addressed to all Christian kings, princes, and nobles, to take the cross, and defend the Holy Land by force of arms. The moment, however, was unfavourable; the monarchs of France and England promised, as had been often done before, to give the Christians in Jerusalem speedy succour; but the differences between Philip and the Count of Flanders delayed the execution of the French king's purpose, if he did really seriously entertain any idea of a crusade at the time.

It is not improbable that intelligence of the good understanding existing between Philip and the King of England, irritated the ambitious Count of Flanders, and made him commit acts which he otherwise would not have ventured upon. His conduct, which is variously treated by various authors, was undoubtedly rash and intemperate; and before Henry could reach the sea-shore, when retiring from his conference with Philip, the dissensions between the young king and the count had reached such a height, that messengers were sent after the King of England, to entreat he would retread his steps, in order to compose the quarrel which had taken place. They overtook him at Barfleur, and Henry immediately returned, conferred with the rebellious count, near Gisors, and contrived, by persuasions and remonstrances, to stop the war which was on the eve of breaking out.

This object being secured, the English monarch once more set off to revisit his kingdom; but ere we proceed to notice the after events, I must pause to mention an interview which occurred while the king was journeying towards the shores of Normandy, and which may serve to illustrate the feelings and character of the times. Henry was visited on his way to England by the Count de Bar, who, it would appear, had not lived either the most devout or the most peaceable life, and who now, as a penance for his offences, had been ordered by the Pope to proceed into Spain, and make war upon the Mahomedans of that country. He had at this time under his command more than 20,000 Brabançois likewise sent to the Peninsula for the expiation of their sins; and being some-

what in want of money for so great an undertaking, he applied to the wealthy King of England for assistance, supposing, it would seem, that his pious purpose would justify any demand. Henry offered to give the utmost aid, if the count and his followers would take the way to the Holy Land instead of Spain ; but what was the result I have not discovered.

Although it is my purpose to dwell as little as possible upon those events which did not actually affect Richard, yet from time to time facts present themselves in the period immediately preceding his accession, which, by their effect upon the state of England in general, claim some notice here. Amongst these, was the promulgation of the famous assize of arms, which not only appointed to each British subject the weapons that he was to use, but commanded all men, possessing property to the value of ten marks, except serfs, to provide themselves with such arms, and took precautions for their always being ready in case of need. In regard to the act of arming the whole free population, Henry had preceded the promulgation of the decree in England by a regulation to the same effect in his transmarine territories, and his example was speedily followed by France and Flanders. To the assize in England, however, a very important clause is appended, by which the king's subjects are restrained from selling any ships to foreigners, and all persons are forbidden to entice British mariners away from the service of their own country. The latter prohibition was probably levelled at Flanders, which was then the great rival of England on the seas, and the aspect of which at that moment was not at all favourable to her island neighbour. Indeed, the jealous rage which the Count of Flanders felt at the ascendancy Henry II. had acquired in the councils of the King of France, was but smothered for the time. The family of Champagne, by calling Henry to their aid, had not so much recovered their own authority, as regained a small part by sharing it with a greater politician than themselves ; and the Count of Flanders, who in uniting Philip to his niece had only sought for rule, found a more dangerous rival in the English monarch.

In consenting to the pacification of Gisors, he had only sought to delay, it would seem, the execution of schemes which he could not execute without the aid of many of the first vassals of France ; but he instantly took means, if we

may believe Diceto, to arouse the nobles of that country against their sovereign, and even to call in the aid of a foreign power to overthrow the throne of a prince to whom he had so lately done homage. The barons he endeavoured to persuade that their castles would soon be seized and demolished by Henry and Philip ; and to the Emperor Frederic he held out the expectation of extending his frontier to the sea-shore, if he would adopt the quarrel of Flanders. The emperor, however, was at that time sufficiently occupied by the dissensions which had arisen out of the conduct of the famous Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony. That prince had made many enemies by deeds which do not call for investigation here, and the emperor himself was by no means friendly towards him. Charges were brought against him in various diets ; but for some time he treated not only his enemies, but the whole body of electors, with contempt ; defeated, with great loss, those who attempted to put in force the decrees which condemned him, and seemed even disposed to shake off his dependence upon the imperial crown. At length, however, Frederic in person took the field against him, and the lion-hearted duke was soon obliged to sue in the tone of a suppliant, was stripped of his territories, and banished for a time from the empire. It was in the midst of these proceedings that the application of the Count of Flanders was made to the German monarch ;* but Henry of England had hitherto given no support to his son-in-law, the Duke of Saxony, and Frederic was too wise to call the arms of England and France upon him at a moment when such a struggle was going on in the empire.

Though unsuccessful in this application, the Count of Flanders contrived to gain the support of some of the great vassals of the crown of France, and a member of the mighty house of Champagne itself was soon brought over to his party, in consequence of a dispute with the king about the homage of an insignificant fief.† This personage was Stephen, Count of Sancerre, and he contrived to engage several of his relations on the side of the Count of Flanders. The Duke of Burgundy, who was certainly one of the most powerful of

* Diceto says, that the Count of Flanders went personally to solicit the emperor's assistance.

† Diceto, col. 612.

Philip's vassals, likewise joined with the Count of Flanders for the destruction of his sovereign ; and the Count of Namur, and a number of other nobles, followed his example.

Many angry words and fierce acts followed: the Count of Sancerre, who was one of the king's uncles, seized upon the castle of St. Brice,* and fortified himself in the strong town of Chatillon. The Count of Flanders claimed Amiens and Peronne, with their respective territories, and entered the kingdom of France in arms, while the Duke of Burgundy also raised the standard of revolt, and the relations of the queen-mother either joined the rebels, or stood treasonably neuter.

Thus, in the course of November, 1181, a general insurrection had taken place in the dominions of Philip, and with the exception of Normandy, Brittany, and Aquitaine, very few of the great fiefs of France were not raising troops against their sovereign. In the mean time, it might be doubtful what part Henry II., King of England, would take in this business. He had afforded hitherto the firmest support and the wisest counsel to the monarch whose power was thus severely assailed ; but that prince had repaid him by urging the younger Henry to require that his father should make over to him in reality, instead of in name, the duchy of Normandy.

We must pause here to notice briefly the state of the English king's relations with his sons. Henry was famous for evading the fulfilment of his promises ; and, though we cannot entertain a doubt that he had ceded completely and fully the duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine to Henry and Richard, as far as words could convey a right, yet he had always avoided putting his eldest son into actual possession of the territory devised, and on several occasions did homage both for it and Aquitaine, showing a resolution to retain his grasp of power in those provinces to the last. What he gave, in short, had been extorted from him, and he sought to render the act of as little avail as possible.

* This castle and its territory is said by Diceto to have been allodial ; but the Count of Sancerre agreed to hold it under the Count of Flanders, and the historian speaks scornfully of him for putting under vassalage lands which were of right free. I do not remember to have found any mention of allodial lands in France after this period.

It can excite no surprise that such conduct irritated his sons, but we must also recollect that the younger Henry equally forgot his own promises towards his father; for we find him continually swearing on the relics of the saints to be contented and observe the old king's commands in all things, and breaking the oath as soon as it is taken. In all probability the immense and thoughtless expenses which he entered into in following, or we might rather say leading, the chivalrous taste of the day, left him always in need of fresh supplies. In 1179, we have a record of his having cast aside his royal state,* to make a tour throughout the whole of France, which occupied between two and three years, fighting as a mere wandering knight at every tournament and passage of arms, and triumphing over all his adversaries. These amusements, on account of the splendour of the arms and equipments, and the largesses given to squires and heralds, were enormously expensive, and all the historians of that day speak with emphasis of the profusion and extravagance of the younger Henry.

Many causes of mutual discontent thus existed between the English monarch and his sons, when the news of the insurrection in France reached this country; and Philip had not been slow to aggravate the evil, so that he could not look for aid from England with any certainty. The old king was prevented from crossing the seas till the year 1182, and what answer he made to the applications which were certainly addressed to him by Philip, we do not know. To the younger Henry, however, to Richard, and to Geoffrey, as vassals to the crown of France, the young king had a right to apply with confidence, nor were his expectations disappointed. His brother-in-law, Henry, immediately caused levies to be made in Normandy; Geoffrey, as a vassal of his brother's duke-

* The account of this transaction, given by Diceto, is worthy of remark. "*Henricus rex filius regis Angliæ regnum egrediens, in conflictibus Gallicis, in expensis profusioibus transegit triennium. Qui dum per id temporis circumquaque Francorum limites properus peragrasset regia majestate seposita, totus est de rege translatus in militem, et flexis in gyrum frænis, in congressibus variis reportavit triumphum: sui nominis celebritatem favor popularis evexit, suorum in computatione gestorum hylarior fama senem censuit admirando victorias, quem lapsum in negotio beneficium adhuc minoris ætatis in integrum restituerent. Sic igitur in negotiis militaribus occupato, dum nil ei deesset ad gloriam, navem ascendens apud Witsand in Angliam rediit IV., Kal. Martii, cum honore debito receptus à rege patre.*"

dom, led the forces of Brittany to the aid of his sovereign ; and Richard, though we do not find that he had distinguished himself as much in the tournament or the tilt-yard as his two brothers, brought the more solid fame of indomitable valour and great military skill, as well as the troops of Aquitaine and Poictou, to uphold the tottering throne of the young French monarch. We are told that beside the troops which these princes could raise in their several territories, they had engaged a large body of Brabançois to aid the King of France ; and as soon as the forces could be united, Philip and the English princes entered the lands of the Count of Sancerre, ravaged them completely, captured the strong castle of Chatillon, and compelled the count to cast himself at the feet of his offended sovereign. His pardon was granted immediately by his nephew, and the example of submission set by this nobleman was followed by many of the other conspirators.

The Duke of Burgundy, however, was not suffered to escape without chastisement, and the army of the four princes entered his rich and beautiful territory, and ravaged it in various directions ; after which they turned to attack the Count of Flanders, who finding himself abandoned by the greater part of his allies, retired before the army of the king ;* and affairs were in this state of uncertainty, when Henry II., alarmed by the increasing power of his eldest son, and by the signs of a rebellious spirit which he displayed, disembarked in Normandy, and hastened, according to his usual policy, to mediate between the contending parties. His first effort was to make some arrangement with his son Henry, and for that purpose he held a meeting with him and the King of France, at which it was agreed that, upon the payment of one hundred Angevin pounds a day for the maintenance of his own dignity, and ten for the support of his wife's household, the young prince should require no more of his father.† This being settled, Henry immediately pro-

* Diceto, col. 612.

† Lord Lyttleton has not related these events with his usual accuracy: he says that Henry the Second was detained in France by new commotions, "which the discontent of the young King Henry had produced," and represents the whole of this transaction as taking place after the conclusion of the war with the insurgents. Hoveden, however, who was with Henry at the time, declares that the

ceeded to negotiate with the Count of Flanders, who was at this time in no situation to resist any reasonable demand. A meeting took place between the two Henrys, the King of France, and the Count of Flanders, shortly after Easter, 1182, in the town of Senlis, at which the Archbishop of Rheims and a papal legate were present.* The count in this conference agreed to yield Peronne to the Bishop of Soissons, as a fief of the crown of France. Amiens and its territory was also restored to the bishop of that city, to hold it of Philip as its liege lord, upon the condition of giving satisfaction to the Count of Flanders in his court, or in the court of the king, for any claim which that prince might have against him. The Count of Clermont, and some other nobles attached to the King of France, were declared totally free of all sovereignty on the part of the Count of Flanders. At the same time the latter prince gave up into the hands of the King of England the deeds which had passed between him and the younger Henry several years before ; and in regard to which, a general renunciation had been previously made on the part of the Count of Flanders, in the year 1175. On this occasion also, the count gave a full release to the sons of the English king, completely freeing and exonerating the younger Henry and his two brothers from all the obligations and conventions entered into between him and them during the former war. This act has greatly puzzled some modern historians, who, from not having attended to the words of Hoveden, cannot in any degree reconcile, upon reasonable principles, the renewal of such a renunciation upon the present occasion. It is evident, however, that in 1175, the Count of Flanders, although he had declared the three princes of England free from all engagements towards him, had kept the charters by which they had conceded to him certain lands and privileges ; and it is not at all improbable that during the present war, in which they had been arrayed against him, he had threatened to put forward a claim upon the strength of the deeds which he possessed. Those deeds were now given up† at Senlis to

cause of the king going to France at all was the turbulent conduct of his son ; and places the agreement between the elder and the younger Henry before the negotiations with the Count of Flanders.

* Diceto, col. 613 ; Hoveden, 616.

† Lord Lyttleton seems to have been especially embarrassed by these facts.

the elder Henry ; and it was not unnatural that he should rejoice at such an event, as he evidently does in a letter to the Bishop of Winchester, cited by Diceto.

In addition to all these acts of submission, the Count of Flanders promised to make compensation to the King of France for the injury he had done his territories during the late war.

Innumerable matters of importance occupied the remainder of the year 1182, but few of the events which took place before the beginning of 1183 affected either Richard himself or the kingdom which he was destined to inherit. The decease of the archbishop is mentioned among the notable events of that particular time ; and the death of Pope Alexander, which had happened some time before, is certainly worthy of commemoration, as in him died one of the most remarkable enemies of civil order, and the most powerful-minded and vigorous advocates for the exemption of certain classes of men from the control of laws enacted for the benefit of all, who ever used a high understanding for an ignoble purpose, making his virtues and his talents stepping-stones for that ambition which may only the more confidently be looked upon as a crime, because there is the less individual selfishness in its nature.

Besides these events, some disturbances on the Welsh frontier, the arrangement of various plans for promoting Geoffrey, one of his natural children, to the high office of chancellor, the reception of the Duke of Saxony, and various other occupations, filled up the rest of the year with Henry II., while his sons passed the time principally in the amusements of the court, which was at that moment filled with a number of nobles from all parts of the king's dominions.

The words of Hoveden are clear and distinct that the charters or deeds are given up, whereas the king's letter to the Bishop of Winchester merely mentions that the count had proclaimed the princes free from the obligations of those deeds. The text of Hoveden is an explanation of the brief intelligence conveyed in Henry's letter, for the giving up of the deeds was the only real security which the princes of England could have against the claims of the Count of Flanders ; but Lord Lyttleton, disgusted at the barbarous Latinity of Hoveden, does not seem to have consulted him so much as he should have done, considering the means of obtaining information which the chaplain possessed. The words of Hoveden on this subject are:—"In eadem concilio idem Comes Flandria tradidit Regi Angliæ patri chartam Regis filii sui ; et ipsum et fratres suos quietos clamavit ab omni conventionē inter eos facta tempore guerræ."

At length began the year 1183, one of the most terrible and important, both to Henry II. and to Richard, which I have had yet to notice. The unfortunate events which darkened the course of that year are most obscure in their causes, and we can discover few reasonable motives for the conduct of any of the parties implicated in those sad transactions. During the festivities of Christmas, which was celebrated by all the royal family at the town of Caen, where Henry held what was then called his Cour Plenièrre, the king, we are told, suddenly commanded his two younger sons, Geoffrey and Richard, to do homage to their elder brother for their territories of Brittany and Aquitaine. Geoffrey immediately performed the act proposed; for the duchy of Brittany was an ancient dependence upon the duchy of Normandy, and the act was a mere feudal form which could not be refused. Such, however, was not the case with the duchy of Aquitaine, over which Henry II. himself had no sway, except in right of his wife Eleanor, and upon which Henry the younger had no claim whatsoever, but as her eldest son. The treaty of Montmirail, however, had completely and effectually barred the claim of either, and it is evident that both Henry II. himself and all his contemporaries considered Richard as absolutely invested with that duchy, and we have no record whatsoever of any homage having been reserved by the father in his cession to the son, though, even had it been so, it would not have implied, according to the feudal law of the time, that the Duke of Aquitaine was bound to do homage to his eldest brother. Nothing of the kind, however, is urged by the most strenuous defenders of Henry, it being clear that his having continued to add to his signature the title of Duke of Aquitaine, was a mere form without substance, which is more than balanced by the fact of Richard so signing his own name as a witness to his father's own acts; and it is distinctly also asserted by Diceto, that Richard was created Duke of Aquitaine by his father with the consent of his mother, the heiress of that duchy; so that all reasonable pretence was wanting for the demand made upon the present occasion. During Richard's nonage, indeed, his father might govern the duchy; but that prince was now of years to rule for himself, and had done so valiantly and strongly for a considerable period.*

* The account of the first steps of Henry in this matter, as given by Diceto,

The excuse put forth by Lord Lyttleton of the conduct of Henry upon the present occasion, affords, perhaps, the most extraordinary instance on record of the partiality with which a historian learns to view the principal character in his narrative. As an extenuation of Henry's conduct in the present instance, he supposes that that monarch "looked upon the treaty of Montmirail as null and void after his sons had engaged in a rebellion against him with the French king's assistance, and being master of the terms on which peace was made, reserved to himself, not without some assurance of the acquiescence of Louis, a superiority of dominion over his sons in Aquitaine and Anjou." Where, however, is the slightest hint of such a transaction to be found? He had clearly and distinctly made over certain feudal territories to his sons, and though there can be no doubt that he might retain the homage of those territories to himself, and might, in case of rebellion, cause the territories so granted to be forfeited by the decree of a feudal court, yet he could not otherwise resume the fiefs which he had granted, and still less transfer the homage of one vassal to another. The whole code of feudal law shows that he could not go beyond these limits; and had the lands been actually pronounced forfeit by rebellion, some notice must have been taken of it at the time, either in the public acts or general chronicles of Henry's reign. It is very probable—but we must not assert the fact positively, although the explanation of Diceto strongly confirms the supposition—that the cause and course of Henry's part in these proceedings was as follows:—He might be naturally anxious to prevent a separation of his dominions after his death, and knowing that Aquitaine was held, not of the crown of England, but of the crown of France, he might,

places the conduct of the king in a fairer light than that afforded by Hoveden, in point of honesty, though not in point of good sense. He says, that Henry first required of his eldest son to confirm to Richard and his heirs the cession of Aquitaine; but that the younger Henry persuaded his father the barons of that duchy would never submit to Richard, and afterwards offered, as a sort of compromise, to agree to the cession, if his brother, in return, would become his vassal for the territories; to which Henry II. unwisely and unjustly consented. As it is probable, however, that Hoveden was an eye-witness of all he relates at this time, I am inclined to receive his account, in preference to that of Diceto, where they differ; and he distinctly states, that on the day after Christmas-day, Henry commanded Richard to do homage, and that it was long afterwards his brother stated the disaffection of the barons of Aquitaine.

when applied to on the subject of that province by his eldest son, command Richard to do homage to his brother, in order to ensure, by that act on the part of the possessor done towards the heir of the English crown, that the magnificent district which he had obtained with the hand of Eleanor should never be totally severed from the rest of the British dominions. This security seemed to exist in the case of Brittany already, as that duchy was a fief holding directly of Normandy; and had Richard also done homage to his brother, he could never, after making himself a vassal of that brother, consider himself a vassal of France, to the detriment of England, as the dependence of a sub-vassal upon a lord paramount was then daily diminishing. Richard, however, who certainly had no cause to love or to respect his brother Henry, but every cause to doubt him and to dislike him, as I have already shown, might very well desire to be totally independent of him after his father's death, and to hold his duchy directly from the crown of France, as it had always been held before by the dukes, his predecessors. In this respect, his determination might be confirmed by the efforts which it is evident the younger Henry made to prevent him from retaining separate possession of Aquitaine, by representing to his father that the whole barons of that land held him in detestation. Nor can there be any doubt that his irritation against his brother was increased by reasonable suspicions that the younger Henry encouraged his vassals to revolt.

However that might be, Richard positively refused to make the concession demanded, and, if Diceto is to be credited, founded his claim to Aquitaine upon rights derived from his mother, as well as others from his father; and this might have irritated the elder Henry to such a degree, that in one of those wild and insane fits of passion which so often disgraced him, he commanded the younger Henry and his brother Geoffrey to make war upon Richard, and take his territories from him by force.*

* Such is the assertion of Diceto, and I must not omit to give the exact words which he makes use of:—"Ad hanc vocem Ricardus vehementer excanduit incongruum esse dicens, ut dicitur, cum eodem ex patre, cum eadem ex matre traxisset originem, si fratrem primogenitum aliqua specie subjectionis superiorem agnosceret, set sicut ipsi fratri suo regi lege primogenitorum bona debebantur paterna, sic in bonis maternis æqua lance successionem legitimam vendicabat. Rex

I cannot yet leave a subject which is of such great importance to a proper estimation of the character of Richard, without giving the views of the different writers of that age who may be considered the most worthy of credit. William of Newbury does not mention at all the injunction which Henry laid upon Richard to do homage to his brother, but merely says, that the young king was indignant that Richard should be put in possession of Aquitaine; and Gervaise of Canterbury informs us that it was the lords of Aquitaine and Poictou who themselves sought to transfer those territories to Henry from his brother; that Richard resisted, and that the younger Henry and Geoffrey, with the Viscount of Lioges, marched against the Duke of Aquitaine without the knowledge of the King of England.

The account of Hoveden, however, is perhaps the most to be relied upon, from his situation about the person of Henry, and from the confidence with which the monarch treated him. That writer says, that shortly after Christmas-day, as I have before stated, the king commanded his eldest son to receive the homage of Richard and Geoffrey, his brothers. The homage of Geoffrey was performed, but when the young king sought to receive that of Richard, the Duke of Aquitaine refused to give it; and when afterwards Richard proposed to do homage, the young king refused to receive it, on which account Richard, in high indignation, retired from his father's court, and going into Poictou, strengthened his territories with new castles, and repaired the old ones. Hove-

pater hoc audiens iracundiæ calore succensus adversus Ricardum dura proposuit, et ut ad edomandum Ricardi superdiam rex filius totus insurgeret instanter indixit. Gaufridum quoque Britanniae ducem, ut cum fratre suo rege domino suo ligio fideliter staret commonuit." That the contradictory accounts of the various authors to which I refer may be under the eyes of the reader at once, I will add here the original words of Hoveden and William of Newbury:—"Præcepit rex regi filio suo accipere homagium à Richardo Comite Pictaviæ fratre suo, et à Gaufrido Comite Britanniae fratre suo. Ipse vero obediens patri recepit homagium Gaufridi fratris sui, et cum à Richardo fratre suo recipere vellet, noluit ei Richardus homagium facere, et postmodum, cum Richardus offerret ei homagium facere, noluit rex filius recipere. Unde Richardus plurimum indignatus recessit à curia regis patris sui, et veniens in Pictaviam terram suam castella nova firmavit, et vetera effortiavit."

The statement of William of Newbury is as follows:—"Ferum occasione judam simultates inter fratres exortæ, idem Henricus indignatus, quod fratrem Richardum pater Aquitaniae præfecisset, juncto sibi fratre Gaufrido Comite Britannico, et quibusdam Proceribus Aquitanicis, patrem motibus bellicis lacessivit."

den then goes on to state, that the younger Henry and Geoffrey invaded their brother's territories on the call of the lords of Poictou, but never mentions any order from the king to that effect. On the contrary, he states that, as soon as Richard found he could not resist the united forces of his two brothers, he sent to his father for aid against them, which was immediately granted.

If, taking this statement of Hoveden's for the foundation of our history, we seek in the other historians merely for that which he has left obscure, we shall conclude that the younger Henry, whom we have already seen intriguing with the discontented nobles of Poictou, was urged by them to demand the transfer of Aquitaine from Richard to himself (as we are informed by Gervaise); that Henry the elder endeavoured, as we are told by Diceto, to persuade his eldest son to resign all such pretensions, and yield Aquitaine* to his brother and his brother's children for ever; and that the young sovereign still contending that he had a right to require those territories, Henry, at the period mentioned by Hoveden, proposed, as a sort of compromise well justified by various political considerations, that Richard should do homage to his brother for the territories in question; that Richard refused entirely so to do, and retired indignantly from his father's court; and that thereupon the younger Henry and his brother Geoffrey pursued him in arms without their father's knowledge.

This seems to me to be the most rational account that can be derived from the authors of the time, and I believe it to be nearer the truth than any other, though I cannot feel sure in regard to every circumstance. That Henry commanded two of his sons to wage war upon the third, I am unwilling to believe, and the whole of the king's after conduct is opposed to such a supposition; but it must be confessed, that the picture of that monarch's violence upon Richard's refusal is so perfectly in harmony with other acts which he committed at various times, that I cannot divest my mind of a painful suspicion that in this case, as in regard to

* The exact words used by Diceto, in speaking of this part of the subject, are: "Postmodum ad hoc potius pater operam dedit operosissimam, ut idem rex filius Ricardo fratri suo ducatum concederet Aquitanniæ, tam ab ipso Ricardo quam à suis hæredibus tractu temporis irrefragabiliter possidendum."

Becket, some passionate words might have been pronounced, which were interpreted by others to direct or justify the commission of a great crime.

Certain it is, however, that no sooner did Henry hear of the measures of his eldest son and Geoffrey, than he employed every means to quiet the discord which had arisen, but in vain. They easily obtained possession of the city of Limoges, and thence waged war against their brother Richard, in despite of their father's exhortations and the admonitions of the clergy, who hastened to interfere and prevent the unnatural contest that was going on; till finding that nothing but force would stop their proceedings, the king called his forces to his standard, and began his march towards Limoges.*

Thus far we have some clear account of the commencement of this civil war; but very much that follows is dark and obscure. We find that about this time Richard, in order to remove all reasonable cause of quarrel between himself and his brother Henry, surrendered into the hands of his father the castle of Clarevaux, which had been claimed as a dependence of the county of Anjou. We are assured, also, that meetings took place between the elder Henry and his sons, and various arrangements are mentioned, which we can in no degree reconcile with the shrewd and politic character of the English king. Thus it is implied that by his consent the young king sent his wife to reside at the court of her brother, the King of France, while the dispute continued between him and Richard; but we find that previous to this very suspicious proceeding, the three princes had met their father at Angers, and had there taken an oath to abide by his decision in regard to their quarrel, as well as to obey his commands in all things. Geoffrey soon broke his oath, however, and Henry II., in company with Richard, by the consent and advice of his eldest son, advanced from Angers towards the city of Limoges, with a very small escort, for the purpose of there meeting the revolted barons of Aquitaine, and reconciling all parties. When he approached the place, the monarch was received with a flight of arrows, by which

* Hoveden, p. 618. It is a remarkable fact that Lord Lyttleton passes over in silence the distinct declaration of contemporary historians, that Henry commanded two of his sons to attack their brother.

one of his knights was wounded before his face ; and all admission into the town being refused him, he was obliged to re-tread his steps. He returned soon after with such a force as left the citizens no chance of successful resistance ; and the gates of the town were opened to him, though the castle still remained garrisoned by the troops of the confederates. Having ridden out, however, with the view of once more exhorting his sons to peace, Henry, it would seem, passed under the walls of that citadel, when, in the presence of the three princes,* another flight of arrows greeted him, one of which was directed with so good an aim, that, had not the king's horse tossed up its head at the moment, and thus received the wound instead of the monarch, the missile must have entered his breast.

The two rebellious princes neither avenged their father, nor refrained from returning to his enemies ; but the younger Henry shortly afterwards came forth again, and spontaneously promised that if the king would grant the insurgents peace, he would utterly abandon the rebellious lords of Aquitaine, unless they came immediately and threw themselves at the monarch's feet. On Henry expressing his willingness to show every sort of clemency, the young king returned to the castle, and then once again came back, asserting that he still found his brother Geoffrey, and the other insurgents, resolved to persevere in their disobedience, on which account, he said, it was his determination to leave them, and submit to his father's will.

Hoveden, however, assures us that the whole of this proceeding was mere deceit, and was, in fact, a farce enacted to give time to his brother Geoffrey, whom the chronicler does not scruple to call the son of perdition, to lead the mercenary troops which he commanded into the territories of his father, where they committed the most horrible barbarities ; plundering, burning, and destroying, pillaging the churches,

* From the expression of Hoveden, I am inclined to believe that Henry the younger, and Geoffrey, had gone out before this period to confer with their father, though Lord Lyttleton reads the passage otherwise. I cannot conceive that Geoffrey or Henry were with the people in the town or the castle when either of these gross and horrible acts were performed. It is evident, indeed, that they were with Henry at the moment that the last flight of arrows took place ; for Hoveden speaks of their going back to the enemy immediately afterwards.

setting fire to the cities, and sparing neither sex, class, nor age. The infamy of such acts, even had they not been aggravated by the sins of impiety, ingratitude, and rebellion, would have been fully sufficient to justify the extreme of anger on the part of Henry the Second; but the young king his son contrived most basely to delude him, remaining with him as long as it was possible to conceal his treachery, and declaring that all the crimes committed by his brother Geoffrey were without his participation or consent. Henry was willing to believe that such guilt on the part of two of his children was not possible; and even after the young king had left him, and retired some miles further into the country, with the basest intentions, he again recalled him, in so pacific a tone, that it seemed for a time to touch the prince, and melt his hard and deceitful heart. He then returned, and swore upon the relics of St. Martial that he would take the cross, and expiate his errors in the Holy Land. The king his father, however, believing this vow to be more the offspring of temporary passion than calm resolution; knowing the mind of his son to be in no fit state for any religious act, and feeling in the case of another, that an oath taken towards God, with the pretence of advancing his glory, but springing from vain, light, or evil motives in the human heart, must be condemnatory rather than exculpatory, was so moved by the sin which his son was likely to commit, that he besought him on his knees, with his eyes overflowing with tears, to tell him whether that vow proceeded from rancour, or indignation, or pecuniary need, or true religious feelings.* His son answered, with every sort of asseveration, that he had taken this vow solely for the remission of the offences which he had committed against his father, and added, when he beheld that father weeping and seeking to dissuade him, that he would slay himself with his own hand, unless he desisted from opposing his holy purpose.

I have not thought fit to deviate in the slightest degree from the account given by Hoveden of a transaction so remarkable, that it raised one of the worst of all our Latin writers into true eloquence. Henry promised his son to

* Such are the exact expressions of Hoveden, the king's chaplain, and I can discover not the slightest reason to doubt that these solemn and remarkable words are perfectly true.

assist him in all respects, and to send him forth upon his military pilgrimage equipped as became his race and enterprise. The young king then, upon his knees, besought his father to grant a pardon to all the insurgents of Aquitaine, which Henry promised most solemnly to do; and another visit was shortly after made by the younger Henry to the camp of the king, accompanied by a number of the citizens of the town, when, casting himself at the monarch's feet, he entreated his clemency on their account. Henry, with his usual moderation, granted the request, but demanded hostages for the future tranquillity of the insurgents, and sent deputies to receive them; but his envoys had scarcely left his presence before they were slain; and the young king, casting off the cross, boldly took arms against his father.

Subsequently, in a conference for a truce, several other servants of the king were slaughtered; and it seems, from the account of Hoveden, that the two insurgent brothers now made it a practice to demand certain persons to confer with them, and then endeavour to kill the ambassadors, who, we may well suppose, were not chosen from amongst their friends. On one occasion, the two deputies from the old king narrowly escaped with life, though men of noble birth, selected by Geoffrey himself. The one was struck at with a sword, and wounded even through his armour; and the other was thrown into the river and well-nigh drowned. But even after all these proofs of treachery and baseness, Geoffrey contrived once more to deceive his father, and, under cover of a truce, issued forth and attacked the church of St. Martial, which he stripped of everything valuable that it contained, to the amount of fifty-two marks of gold and twenty-seven marks of silver—an immense sum in those days.

Great horror spread throughout Europe at the unnatural war which was going on in Aquitaine. The English and Norman prelates met at Caen, and fulminated a sentence of excommunication against all that should impede the re-establishment of peace, with the sole exception of the young king, who was spared out of respect to his royal dignity. But to him, also, the Archbishop of Canterbury dictated a touching appeal, notifying the sentence which was about to be pronounced, and exhorting the prince to return to his duty.

The young king, however, now showed no disposition to

submit, but on the contrary, plundered the churches and the country round, and gathering together his forces, prepared with impious violence to attack his father, and risk a general battle. There can be but little doubt that during the whole of this period, the heart of the younger Henry was moved with terrible agitation; that he felt the load of iniquity which lay upon him; and from time to time suffered dreadfully from irresolution and remorse. But it would appear that he had become so thoroughly entangled with the turbulent barons of Aquitaine, and was so deeply indebted to the bands of Brabançois whom he had hired, that he saw no way of escape but by gaining a complete victory over his parent and his sovereign; and thus, as is usual in an evil course, he found himself driven on to new crimes, by the consequences of those gone before.

After hesitating for some days, and committing various acts of rapine to satisfy the cravings of his mercenary troops, the young king determined to attack his father with all his forces on the Monday after Pentecost. He was at this time at the small town of Martel, in the neighbourhood of Limoges; and almost immediately after holding the council where this criminal resolution was taken, the agitation of his mind, it would seem, produced the first symptoms of a fever and dysentery, which very soon left no prospect of recovery. As soon as his hopeless state was made known to the younger Henry, remorse seized upon him with all her horrors, and with profound penitence for the acts in which he had been engaged, he sent messengers to his father, expressing the deepest compunction, and beseeching him to pardon and to see him once more before he died.

Henry II. was moved by his son's repentance, and would have visited him in person, had not those who surrounded him remonstrated, and shown him that although his dying son might be trusted, yet the evil men by whom he was still surrounded might take terrible advantage of the king's confidence. The monarch yielded to these reasons, but as a token of his forgiveness, he sent his ring to the unhappy prince by the Archbishop of Bordeaux. That prelate found the young king still living, and he received the ring with the utmost joy. He besought the archbishop, however, to return once more to his father, with an entreaty that he would par-

don the barons of Aquitaine, and pay his knights and attendants. After which, putting on sackcloth, and with a rope round his neck, he caused himself to be drawn from his bed, and laid upon a heap of ashes, with a large stone under his head; where, having previously made an ample confession of his sins, he died with a degree of contrition which edified all the beholders. It might be well said of him that "nothing in his life became him like the leaving it." *

The characters of no two men in Europe could be more strikingly opposed than those of Henry, whose death we have just mentioned, and Richard Plantagenet. As is usual, however, showy accomplishments and affable manners won popularity, even in despite of follies and vices; and while we find in the whole course of Richard's previous life, much more to praise and to admire than we discover in the career of his elder brother, yet it is clear that Henry was at this time loved far more generally than the young Duke of Aquitaine. Richard's first rebellion against his father was undoubtedly produced by the influence of his mother and the counsels of his elder brother; but he was the first to return to his duty, and he persevered in it with much steadiness under what he might well consider serious injuries. To him, in 1176, was assigned the hard and disagreeable task of reducing to subjection those turbulent nobles with whom he had been allied in rebellion; and after his brother Henry was despatched to aid him, he bore with exemplary patience, for one so bold and vehement, the deceitful conduct of that brother, who caballed with those he was sent to reduce, and endeavoured to found a claim to Richard's territories upon the favour of those whose rebellion he was bound to chastise. When, afterwards, his father commanded him to do homage to that very brother, for territories which had been given to him as his own, he certainly at first refused with indignation, but there seems no reason to doubt that he afterwards yielded to the king's remonstrances. We do not find the slightest hint, during the whole course of the terrible proceedings

* See for the statements contained in the last three pages, Hoveden, pp. 619, 620; Gervaise, col. 1462, 1463; and William of Newbury, lib. iii. cap. vii. Diceto undertakes the defence of Prince Henry; but the admitted facts leave no doubt of his gross criminality; and Gervaise praises his person and demeanour, but does not conceal his guilt.

which succeeded, of his having embarrassed the negotiations of his father by any resistance, cabal, or intrigue; although the very war had commenced by an act on the part of that father which Richard evidently felt to be unkind and unjust towards himself.

That the people of Aquitaine might be inimical to their young duke we can well understand, for while his brother Henry had been spending months and years in tilts and tournaments, lavishing time and treasure on pageantry and show, Richard had been contending on the battle-field with the rebels, against whom his father had sent him; and had carried on the struggle against his adversaries with such success as to bring shame as well as defeat upon a vain and irascible race. It was natural that such men should hate him; it was natural that they should bring charges against him of cruelty and oppression;* and it is very probable, also, that, vehement and passionate as Richard certainly was, he did, in a moment of victory, show the fierceness of the lion as well as the lion's courage. It is strange, however, that amongst all the host of enemies which rose up around him in Aquitaine, we do not find any definite instances of his cruelty recorded. In fact, he is generally proved to have spared his enemies taken in open rebellion, with arms in their hands; and though the manners of the younger Henry might be more amiable, his pursuits and amusements more popular, and his conversation engaging and attractive, we cannot place his character in contrast with that of Richard without lamenting the instability, the deceitfulness, the treachery, the impiety, the ingratitude of the one, and admiring the frankness, the sincerity, and the stability of the other.†

* These charges were brought by the barons of Poitou and Aquitaine, but we do not find that they were in any degree substantiated. A vague accusation was made at one time of his having violated some of the women of the country, and then turned them over to his soldiery; but we are not told where, when, or how, this act was committed, and the charge is avowedly that of an enemy who had felt the weight of his hand.

† All the writers of that day, however, did not view the character of the younger Henry with the same partial eyes wherewith Gervaise of Canterbury viewed it; and in comparing his account with that of William of Newbury, we find that the latter judged by actions rather than accomplishments; whereas the former went little below the surface. I subjoin the two accounts. William of Newbury says: "Anno à partu virginis 1183 qui fuit xxx. regis Anglorum

The corpse of the younger Henry was carried, by his own order, into Normandy, although the inhabitants of Mans endeavoured to stop it by the way, not so much, perhaps, out of regard for his person, as because they looked upon him as more immediately one of their own princes. The people of Rouen claimed the body; and on this curious subject of dissension a civil war would have broken out had it not been quieted by the decision of Henry II.

That monarch was deeply afflicted by the death of his eldest son, who had certainly been his favourite child. He fainted three times on the intelligence being communicated to him, and showed the most immoderate and excessive grief during many days. Richard, however, to whom his brother had sent no message on his death-bed, no sooner heard that the army of the rebels was dispersing, on the death of their royal leader, than he sprang into the saddle, and pursuing the various bands in all directions with a choice troop of men-at-arms, cut to pieces many small bodies, and prevented the rest from reassembling. He then returned to his father. The rebellion at Aquitaine was at an end; and a new scene opened before the prince as heir-apparent to the crown of England.

BOOK X.

SOME of the transactions which ensued after the death of Henry the younger, must be passed over rapidly, as their effect on the reign and history of Richard was not important. Henry II., as soon as he had recovered from the stupor of grief, urged forward the siege of Limoges furiously,

Henrici Secundi, Henricus Tertius Anglorum Rex, junior immatura morte decessit. Plane immatura, si ætem respicias, sed multum sera, si actus attendas. Fœdaverat enim adolescentiam suam nævo inexpressibili similitudine scelestissimi Absalonis, ut superius expositum est. Juventutem quoque ingressus, eandem adolescentiæ suæ noluit esse dissimilem, et prævaricator, non tantum naturæ (ut prius) verum etiam solemnium pactorum, rebellavit iterum contra patrem." The description of the younger Henry by Gervaise is as follows:—"Amabilis enim erat omnibus et pulcher aspectu, et præcipue gloriæ militaris insignis, ideo ut nulli videretur esse secundus; humilis, docilis erat, et affabilis, unde cum et prope positi et longe remoti affectuose diligebant."

and speedily reduced the garrison to capitulate. He then, with the aid of his son Richard, besieged and took several other places in Poictou; some of which he retained in his own hand, some of which he levelled with the ground. Between himself and the young duke there seems not to have been the slightest opposition at this time. Richard, the heir of the whole monarchy, and certain, if he survived his father, of holding the duchy of Aquitaine as a fief from the crown of France, was perfectly willing to gratify Henry by doing homage to him for the territory, although he had once refused to perform that act towards his own brother.* A vast difference, indeed, existed between the two cases, not only in point of feeling, but also in point of policy. By doing homage to his father, he only did that which could never be exacted from him by any other English sovereign, while by doing it to a brother he acknowledged a dependence of Aquitaine upon another crown, which might pass to remote relations, with whom the kindred ties might be greatly weakened. In the next place, he had once already done homage to his father for the duchy of Aquitaine, and had he also performed that act to his brother, he would have rendered himself one of the fourth-rate vassals of the crown of France; he being the man of the younger Henry, that prince the vavasour of the King of England, and the King of England the vassal, for Aquitaine, of the French sovereign. To be vavasour of his own father, whose heir he was, and who had originally bestowed the fief, was quite a different position; and that he was quite willing to hold himself as such, Richard had shown at Mans, in 1175.

We must now turn to the young Duke of Brittany. His

* Lord Lyttleton, in speaking of the conduct of Richard in regard to Aquitaine, forgets entirely—or if that term be not applicable to such an historian—overlooks entirely the fact that Richard having once done homage to his father, Henry, for the duchy of Aquitaine, was entirely free and independent of him, except in so much as feudal suit and service was implied, as one prince could be of another. Henry, by his paternal authority, could say, thou shalt do so or so, and Richard, from his filial piety, might obey the commands of his father; but Henry, according to the strict tenor of the feudal law, had no right to dictate any sort of conduct to Richard whatsoever, or to set foot in his territory, unless one of three conditions existed—namely, that judgment had been pronounced against the vassal in the king's sovereign court; that the vassal was in arms against his sovereign; or that the fief was without an heir in the king's court. This law was often violated, but such was the law.

colleague in rebellion being dead, his forces dispersed, his Brabançois plundering the country round, his dauntless brother and his offended father at the head of a large force, ready to strip him of his territories, and punish him for his crimes, Geoffrey of Brittany had no resource but to throw himself at Henry's feet, and implore pardon for his offences. He [accordingly appeared at the court of the king, and was reconciled to his father and his brother. I find no proof that he ever showed the slightest remorse, that he ever even expressed penitence, or promised amendment; but, to use the expression of a contemporary writer, "he remained hanging about and fluctuating round his father, till he found that Henry would not grant the boons which he sought to exact, and then he went over to the enemies of his country."

Before we detail the events connected with that transaction, however, we must treat of other matters prior in point of time, and notice the claims by which Philip, commonly called Augustus, King of France, commenced that series of exactions from the monarchs of England, which he carried on so successfully through his long and splendid reign.

On the marriage of Prince Henry with a daughter of the King of France, a befitting portion had been given by her father; and Henry II. had induced a weak sovereign to renounce all title to the town of Gisors and to the Norman Vexin, which was yielded to England at the time of her union with the heir-apparent of that kingdom. It is necessary to remark and remember, however, that with the treaties concerning the marriage settlement of Margaret of France were mixed many other points of discussion between the King of England and the King of France, and that the cession of the Norman Vexin was not made without a dispute as to whether that territory belonged of right to France or to Normandy. It was ceded at the time that the marriage was agreed upon; but the question was left open whether it was yielded to the just claim of the King of England, or given as a portion to the princess of France. It became the interest of Henry now to maintain that the former was the case, as in fact he had always asserted; and it suited the purposes of Philip to declare that the latter was the true interpretation of the act of cession.

Numerous treaties and conventions, however, had been

entered into since the marriage, which so strongly confirmed Henry's claim, that in a conference which took place between Gisors and Trie, Philip did not venture to urge his demand vigorously, and consented to receive an annuity for his widowed sister's support of one thousand seven hundred and fifty Angevin pounds, to be paid in Paris, without any deduction.* Although this was a very splendid sum, considering the relative value of money at that period, Henry was induced afterwards to increase it, in consequence of a letter from the Pope, exhorting the King of England to be more munificent in his dealings with his daughter-in-law, for the sake of his own salvation.† At this same meeting between Gisors and Trie,‡ the King of England did homage to Philip for all his transmarine territories, and the two sovereigns parted apparently good friends.

It must be recollected, however, that a double claim had been put in by the French sovereign on the death of Prince Henry: first, for the restitution of the Vexin, and, secondly, for the transfer of certain lands which had been settled upon his sister by her husband at the time of her marriage. Now, whether the composition entered into by Henry could be considered as satisfying both these demands, or whether, in regard to the Vexin, he rested upon his absolute right to that territory, and granted the annuity solely as an equivalent for the estates which the younger Henry had settled upon his wife, but which he now showed had been previously settled upon Queen Eleanor,§ may be doubted. The latter suppo-

* The gentleman of whom I have before spoken, and who has written a history of Philip Augustus, has stated that Henry agreed to give Margaret seven hundred and fifty livres; as his authority for which he cites Hoveden, who, on the contrary, says, at page 621, that Henry agreed to give her as an annuity, "*mille et septingentas et quinquaginta libras Andegavensis monetæ*:" otherwise, one thousand seven hundred and fifty Angevin pounds. How Monsieur Capefigue has contrived to reduce this sum I cannot tell; but brought into sous Tournois, by the calculation of Le Blanc (page 153), it amounts to twenty-six thousand two hundred sous Tournois, at fifty-three sous four deniers to the mark.

† Monsieur Capefigue seems not to have understood, and has certainly misplaced, this letter of the Pope. The conference at which the dowry of Margaret was settled took place in the year 1183; the letter of Pope Lucius was written in 1184. Diceto, col. 624.

‡ It is not very clear whether one or two meetings took place this year between the two kings; but if there were two, it was at the last, on the XIII. calends October, that Henry did homage.

§ We must candidly acknowledge that this transaction, as well as various

sition, however, is the most probable, as we find that the claim upon Gisors was never abandoned for any length of time, although it is distinctly stated by one English writer of high authority that Philip and the young queen agreed to give up all title whatsoever to the Vexin, provided their sister Adelais should be married either to Richard or John; which statement, together with another event which we shall have to notice very soon, proves the singular fact that, although the princess had been placed in the hands of Henry to be united to his son Richard, she had never, properly speaking, been affianced to that prince.*

It is probable that this extraordinary proposal was connected with one little less so, made by Henry to his son Richard towards the end of 1183—namely, that he should give up Aquitaine to John, merely receiving homage for the duchy from his brother. Richard seems to have been taken by surprise, for John had already the prospect of inheriting Ireland, and every consideration of policy required that their father should keep his continental dominions undivided; but many of the arguments used in his own favour, during his brother Henry's life, now told against Richard, and, before he made any reply, he asked a few days to consider and consult with his friends. This was granted to him; and Richard, retiring from his father's presence, went into Poitou, from which place he sent a message, stating his resolution never to give up the duchy of Aquitaine to any one.

Though the only accounts of this transaction which we possess are scanty and confused, it would appear that Henry pressed Richard vehemently to yield to his wishes, but that Richard resisted firmly, and the king, becoming angry, ordered Geoffrey and John to ravage their brother's territories.† The attempt to intimidate Richard, however, was vain, and turning upon his assailants, he entered Brittany at the head of a considerable force, and more than repaid Geoffrey for all the evils he had committed in Poitou. The king, how-

other acts of Henry towards the monarchs of France, bears a somewhat fraudulent appearance.

* The fact alluded to, as proving that Richard and Adelais had never been contracted to each other by any binding tie, is the treaty for an alliance between that prince and the daughter of the emperor, which is mentioned a few pages further on.

† Benedict Abbas.

ever, repented speedily of his rash violence, and hastening to reconcile his sons, he gathered them together at Westminster, in the course of the following year, and made them swear upon the sacrament that they would maintain peace with each other for the future; but it does not appear that he desisted from urging Richard to resign Aquitaine to John.

In the same year—namely, 1184—Henry was visited in England by the Archbishop of Cologne, in company with the Count of Flanders. The pretence of their journey was a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, but the real cause of their coming is not openly stated. Judging from the events which followed, there can be but little, if any, doubt that the intriguing Count of Flanders was then endeavouring to form a general league against Philip, King of France, who demanded that the Vermandois should be restored to the crown, alleging that it had been improperly obtained from his father and himself at a period when neither were in a state to make such a gift permanent.

It would be out of place here to enter fully into the original question of the cession of the Vermandois to the Count of Flanders. It is clear that Louis VII. bestowed it, and that Philip, while still in his extreme youth, confirmed the donation: but whether or not the one king had legally the power to give* a part of the royal demesne in perpetuity, and the other could confirm it while in his fourteenth year, must be a matter of considerable doubt now, as it certainly was at the time; for the confirmation of Philip was that upon which the Count of Flanders would seem principally to have rested. Suffice it to say, that the demand above mentioned was made by Philip, and rejected by the Flemish prince, and that, in the beginning of this year, 1184, Henry, previous to his return to England, had with difficulty effected a temporary reconciliation between the count and Philip, neither party seeking, apparently, more than time to prepare for active hostilities. A truce, however, had been concluded between them at the town of Choisi, to last for one year, from the day of St. John next ensuing; and the English king, on his return

* The "*Branche aux royaux lignages*" puts the question entirely upon this footing; stating, as Philip's reply to the Count of Flanders, that a King of France had not the power permanently to alienate the royal demesne.

to his own dominions, passed through those of the Count of Flanders, where he was received with every mark of honour and distinction.

On the appearance of the count and the archbishop in England, Henry went in person to meet them; and after they had performed the devotions at Canterbury which were the pretexts for their journey, he brought them to London, where they were received by a multitude of the citizens, crowned with garlands. I discover no record of any actual treaty entered into between the three princes at this time, but many important facts are noticed, which leave no doubt that the Archbishop of Cologne, in the year 1184, engaged in an offensive and defensive league with the Count of Flanders, and that the same prelate was induced by some means not only to be reconciled to his ancient enemy, Henry, Duke of Saxony, then at the court of England, but to undertake that the Emperor Frederic should give his daughter in marriage to Richard Plantagenet. From all these facts, and from the events which followed, we may well deduce that the object of the visit made by the archbishop and the Count of Flanders at this time was to engage Henry II. either to join the league against the French king, or to remain neuter in case of a war. In the latter object they succeeded, and the arrangements for the marriage of the young Duke of Aquitaine to the German princess having been concluded, the bishop and the count quitted England. On arriving in Flanders, they immediately proceeded to wage war upon the Count of Hainault, which, though not an actual breach of the existing truce, was a manifest injury to the French king. The pretext for this attack upon the Count of Hainault was, that he had made some encroachment upon the territory of Flanders, but the real object could not be doubted, and Philip accordingly determined to take arms in support of his father-in-law.

The truce was soon openly broken by both parties, but the Count of Flanders was the first in the field, and marching on with the utmost rapidity, he passed the rivers Somme and Oise, ravaged the country, attacked the town of Corbie, and approached Senlis, within a few leagues of Paris itself, threatening at the same time to advance upon the capital, and to plant his banner in the Rue de Calandre.* In the

* Guil. Armor. ; Rigord. ad ann., 1184.

mean while, Philip assembled some forces at Compiègne, ordered another muster to be made at Amiens, and putting himself at the head of his army, marched at once to meet the enemy. The count immediately retreated from Senlis upon the division which he had left besieging Corbie. Philip followed in haste, and found that the enemy had already effected a breach in the outer wall. His approach, however, once more scared the Count of Flanders from the prey which was nearly in his power, and after succouring Corbie, Philip marched on, and laid siege to Boves.* Thither the count followed him, and a general battle seemed inevitable; but the Archbishop of Rheims, now Cardinal of Champagne, mediated between the two parties, and brought about a treaty of peace, the stipulations of which clearly show that the Count of Flanders felt himself utterly incompetent to contend with the French sovereign.† He made a general concession of almost everything which Philip had demanded, giving up the whole of Vermandois, with the exception of the towns of St. Quentin and Peronne, which were left to him for life. He also agreed to make compensation to the Count of Hainault for the ravages which he had committed in his territory. There can be no doubt that a preliminary treaty to the above-named effect was signed near the town of Boves; but it would appear that negotiations were carried on for some time afterwards, and that the final arrangement of the whole was delayed till the following year.

Early in 1185, Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, with a large train of the Knights of the Hospital and Temple, arrived in England, having been despatched by Baldwin the Leper to beseech the immediate aid and assistance of his relation, Henry, in opposing the daily growing power of Saladin.‡ The patriarch was also furnished with a letter from the Pope, setting forth the eminent peril of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and urging Henry most strongly to hasten to its aid. The King of England received the deputies with

* Guil. Armoric.

† Rigordus says that the treaty was brought about by the mediation of the Count of Blois and the archbishop.

‡ It is stated that Heraclius brought with him to Henry the banner of the Holy City, and the keys of the tower of David and our Lord's sepulchre. Hoveden, p. 628.

the utmost kindness and distinction, but cautiously abstained from committing himself by any pledge to visit the Holy Land; and the advice of the clergy and nobles being asked upon the question of a new crusade, a very doubtful answer was obtained from a council held in London shortly after the arrival of Heraclius. The patriarch then petitioned, that if the king himself was prevented from undertaking the holy war, one of his sons, either Richard or John, might be sent to Palestine; but Henry evaded this request at the time, and, in the month of April following, he took ship and landed on the coast of France, still accompanied by the patriarch, who lingered in the hope of obtaining some greater aid from the King of England than either the pecuniary supplies which the monarch had granted him, or a body of troops raised by several English barons, who were permitted by Henry to lead their own retainers to the Holy Land.*

No sooner did Philip of France learn that Henry had arrived in Normandy, than he sought a conference with him, and advanced some way to meet the English king, although he certainly had no great cause to be satisfied with the conduct which Henry had lately pursued towards him. That monarch, as we have seen, had not only entered into a scheme, before any arrangement had been finally made regarding the Princess Adalais, to unite her promised husband to another, but, besides this, had permitted some of his barons, who were connected by somewhat doubtful ties with the Count of Flanders, to aid that prince in his war against France. Amongst these was the famous William de Magna-villa, or Mandeville, Earl of Essex, by whose presence with the Flemish army, we are told, the people of Hainault suffered severely. Nevertheless, it does not appear that Philip expressed any very great indignation at the conduct of his ally, and the two kings remained together for three days in peaceful festivities.

The mind of the King of England, however, was ill at ease, for not long before, his son Richard, pressed, as we have seen, to resign the duchy of Aquitaine, and showing a strong resolution to defend it to the last, had retired from England

* I have not dwelt at large on these events, as I shall have to notice them more fully hereafter, in giving a general account of the events which took place in Palestine during the fourteen years immediately preceding the third crusade.

into Poictou, whether with his father's consent or not is doubtful. Soon after, he had invaded the territories of Geoffrey, who had been previously sent to rule in Normandy during the king's absence, and who, we may suppose, had again demanded the cession of Aquitaine on the part of his father.* The king, determined not only to put a stop to the war, but also to withdraw, by some means, that important duchy from the hands of the heir-apparent, collected a large army at Rouen, and preferring that even his wife Eleanor should hold the lands in question rather than Richard, sent a letter to his son, informing him, that "unless he yielded to his mother the whole of Poictou, freely and quietly, he would visit him with a rod of iron, and drive him out by force of arms. On receiving this mandate, Richard, abandoning his hostile purposes, gave up Poictou to his mother, and returning to his father, remained with him as an obedient son." Such are the words of Hoveden, who had every opportunity of knowing the truth, and we cannot but feel that some credit was due to the young prince, who could thus curb and rule the strong and vehement passions with which he was undoubtedly possessed, and bend his will to that of his father, even when exercised in an unjust and tyrannical manner.†

It is not improbable, as has been generally conjectured, that the purpose of the old king in restoring the duchy of Aquitaine to Eleanor was to remove her from his court, and

* Lord Lyttleton gives a view of this matter not so accurate as could be wished. He merely speaks of the ravages committed in the territories of Geoffrey; and adds, that Richard "still persisted in that unnatural war." "What new quarrel," says the noble lord, "had so soon disturbed the reconciliation between those two princes, which their father had made in 1184, no account is given us in any history of those times. All we know is, that Richard was certainly the aggressor."

Now Hoveden mentions the matter thus:—"His son Richard, Count of Poictou, who was strengthening Poictou against him, and who had made war upon his brother Geoffrey, Count of Bretagne." The rest of the words used by Hoveden I have translated in the text; but the whole account shows that Henry had never resigned his intention of wresting Aquitaine from Richard, and that prince was resolved not to yield it to either of his brothers.

† I am sorry that it is impossible for me to agree with the views of Lord Lyttleton upon these points; for although we rely upon the same authorities, and state the matter with a very slight difference of terms, his account goes to slur over the vacillating and unreasonable conduct of Henry, and to conceal, or rather leave untold, the filial obedience and self-command displayed by Richard.

rid himself of such a witness to his criminal amours. The queen-consort had been confined for many years in England, with a harshness which her own criminality towards her former lord did not at all justify in her adulterous husband; but shortly before this time she had been set at liberty, it is supposed at the entreaty of the Duchess of Saxony. The Princess Adelaïs of France was at this time just entering that period of youth when the beauties of the child, expanding into those of the woman, might be supposed to captivate the lascivious affection of a depraved old man; and it is not improbable that at about this time commenced that intrigue between herself and Henry which undoubtedly did ultimately take place, and to which have been attributed, by historians who should have known better, actions which occurred long before any such attachment could have arisen. As it would have been too grossly indecent to shut up Eleanor again immediately after having liberated her, and as her presence might be inconvenient in England, it is probable Henry found it agreeable both to fix her in Aquitaine, and remove Richard from that duchy. In the mean time, there can be but little doubt that Philip, beginning to feel both ashamed and alarmed at his sister's situation, pressed Henry to proceed in the marriage of Adelaïs to one or other of his sons. They had more than one meeting in the course of the year 1185, but still, it would seem, the greatest harmony subsisted between the two kings, and we do not find that any angry discussions occurred between them.* On the contrary, Henry acted the part of peace-maker between Philip and the Count of Flanders, in a great meeting which took place at Aumale on the 7th of November.

The course of events in the Holy Land we shall have to notice very soon; but while speaking of the occurrences of 1185, it may be necessary to state that notwithstanding the mission of the patriarch of Jerusalem, much less sympathy was met with on the part of the kings of France and England than might have been expected. Neither of them gave any fair hope that they would proceed to the Holy Land in person; nor did Henry, as the patriarch had desired, agree to

* We find the following record concerning one of these meetings:—"Rex Francorum regem Anglorum infirmitate tactum visitavit V. idus Novembris apud Belveir faciens ibi moram pertriduum."

send either of his sons, whose presence, as a descendant of Fulk of Anjou, might have terminated the contests for power which were going on in the unhappy kingdom of Jerusalem. Heraclius accordingly returned, grieved and disappointed, although both Henry and Philip promised abundant supplies of money and men, and proceeded some way in the fulfilment of such engagements.

The year 1186, which was prolific of great events of various kinds, was ushered in by a conference in the neighbourhood of Gisors, between Henry, King of England, and Philip, King of France, at which were present the Count of Flanders, and Margaret, the widow of the younger Henry. Various matters, which had been often treated of before, were here once more brought under discussion, and the question of the young queen's dowry, as well as that of the peace between France and Flanders, was settled upon a better foundation than before. The most important subject mooted, however, was Richard's marriage with Adelais; and while Henry promised on oath to conclude their union without further delay, Philip declared that upon the celebration of that marriage, he would give up all demand whatsoever to Gisors and the disputed territory.

As soon as this conference had taken place, Henry, after having made some arrangements in Aquitaine, which we are told gave great offence to Richard, but in regard to which no quarrel took place between the father and the son, returned into England, taking with him his queen, Eleanor, and once more sending back his eldest son into Poitou. Richard's warlike genius did not suffer him to remain long at peace, and in France, at that time, an opportunity of exercising himself in arms was easily met with. Early in this year we find him marching against the Count of Toulouse, we are told, by the commands of his father. The cause of this war with the count, however, would seem not to have been any new offence offered by him to Henry, as Lord Lyttleton has supposed, but rather a quarrel which existed between him and the King of Arragon, one of the English monarch's most faithful allies. In the year 1183, we find that the Count of Toulouse was leagued with the younger Henry in opposition to his father,* while the King of Arragon marched with a

* This is proved by a letter from the count to the Pope, in regard to the wishes which the younger Henry expressed upon his death-bed.

large force to support Richard and Henry in their attack upon the castle of Limoges. The count and the Spanish king, both possessing territories in the south of France, had been for many years engaged in an endless series of wars and negotiations, and although they had concluded a treaty of peace in 1185, a new quarrel speedily arose between them.

It was natural that on hostilities being resumed, the King of Arragon should apply at once to his friend, the young Duke of Aquitaine, and as natural that Richard should give him aid in arms. We accordingly find, that scarcely had Richard arrived in his dominions in the year 1186, than he held a meeting with his ally, and that the English prince ceded the sovereignty of some territories belonging to Aquitaine to the friendly monarch. A league was concluded between them at the same time, and the war broke out not long afterwards by the Count of Toulouse besieging Carcassonne, which was held by Roger, Viscount of Beziers, an ally, if not a vassal, both of Richard and the King of Arragon. There is reason to believe that the Arragonese monarch marched at once to the relief of Carcassonne, and we are assured, though not upon very good authority, that he fought and defeated the Count of Toulouse under the walls of that city.

Certain it is, however, that about the same time Richard declared war against the count, and entered his territories, taking a number of castles and small towns; while William, Lord of Montpelier, joined the young Duke of Aquitaine at Agen,* and aided him in the hostilities he was carrying on. The Count of Toulouse was utterly unable to keep the field against Richard; and it would seem he applied more than once, ineffectually, to Philip of France for armed assistance against the English prince. That monarch might have many motives for refusing to embroil himself in war with the King of England, and he seems at first to have avoided it strenuously, acting moderately and wisely in regard to some disturbances which took place on the frontiers of France and Normandy, in the neighbourhood of Gisors.

At the same time, however, Philip contrived to give no slight uneasiness to Henry II. by encouraging his son Geoffrey to demand the county of Anjou, which the English mo-

* This is proved by a charter given by Richard in this year to the abbey of Candeil, in the Albigeois.

narch was in no way disposed to grant, considering the rich territory of Brittany as a sufficient appanage for his second son. Geoffrey continued to urge his claim, and finding that his father would not yield, withdrew to Paris, where preparations of a very menacing character were made by himself and Philip, as if for the attack of Henry's transmarine dominions. In the midst of those preparations, however, a tournament was given by the King of France, in the course of which Geoffrey was thrown to the ground and trodden under foot by the horses. It would seem that he was not killed on the spot, but lingered some time, which gave currency to a report that he died of a fever.* His conduct through life had been such, that his father showed no profound sorrow for the loss of a son who, at the very moment of his death, was plotting fresh disobedience; and as he was known to be remorseless, cold-blooded, and deceitful, few persons, except the King of France and those who had allied themselves with him in his rebellion against Henry, entertained any great grief for the fate of the young Duke of Brittany.

Philip, however, displayed all the signs of mourning, affected to look upon the memory of Geoffrey as that of a brother, and demanded the guardianship of the daughter which the deceased prince had left behind. He put in this claim as the feudal sovereign of the late Duke of Brittany, but it seems to be perfectly clear that Brittany had been repeatedly recognised as a fief of Normandy, and therefore the right of custody was absolutely in the King of England. Nevertheless, Philip carried his pretensions so far as to threaten a war for the purpose of obtaining possession of the heiress; and Henry, in consequence, sent Ranulph de Glanville, his grand justiciary, together with the Earl of Albemarle and the Archbishop of Rouen, to negotiate a

* Lord Lyttleton, following the account of William of Newbury, seems to think that he died a natural death. Diceto does not mention how he died; but Hoveden distinctly states that he died from being trodden under foot by the horses; and William the Armorician says that he died at Champeaux, which was the ordinary place for celebrating tournaments in Paris. I cannot suppose that the king's chaplain could be ignorant of the manner in which the prince met with his death, although Rigordus speaks of his falling sick, without mentioning any accident which he had met with. Rigordus shows, however, that he is inaccurate, by giving a wrong date to Geoffrey's death, and therefore I cannot suffer his testimony to prevail against that of Hoveden.

truce for a short period, and thus give time for the establishment of a more settled peace.

Although he consented to suspend hostilities, Philip had probably no intention of maintaining long an appearance of amity towards the English king. Indeed, there is good reason to suppose that one cause of his pausing in his course at this period was the insecure state of his authority over his great vassals, for we find that during 1186 he was engaged for a short period in open hostilities with the Duke of Burgundy, while his reconciliation with the Count of Flanders was yet by no means secure. In granting the truce, it is probable that the French king might also be influenced by a wish to see what would result from the pregnancy of Constance, Duchess of Brittany, who had by this time declared herself with child.

As the period for her delivery approached, Henry himself hastened over into France, where he arrived on the 20th of February, 1187, and proceeded at once to Aumale. He was there joined by Richard and John, and a conference was held between the father and his two sons in regard to the course to be pursued should a war become inevitable; which, indeed, seemed very likely to be the case, as Philip's desire to obtain a hold of Brittany was sufficiently apparent. Shortly afterwards, in the month of March, a meeting took place between Henry and Philip at the ford of St. Remi, and another followed in the month of April. The particulars of the negotiation which took place are not known, but we learn that the two monarchs separated without the slightest hope of peace, and the English historians reproach Philip with making demands so excessive that it was impossible Henry could yield to them. They parted then to prepare for war, and it would appear that Richard was now strenuous in his attachment to his father's cause, although there can be no doubt that the detention of his promised bride by Henry II. was one of the complaints most strongly urged by her brother, the King of France.*

* The demands of the King of France, as stated by Gervaise of Canterbury, with the exception of that in regard to Brittany, seem anything but unreasonable or unjust. The words of Gervaise are as follows:—"M.C.LXXXVIJ. Discordia regum Franciæ videlicet et Angliæ in immensum aucta est ac si jam jamque essent dimicaturi. Rex enim Franciæ rogaverat regem Angliæ ut ea quæ pater suus

On the 29th of March, 1187, shortly before the last conference between the two kings, the Duchess of Brittany gave birth to a son, and it is not improbable that the custody of the infant prince was a question which had a part, amongst other elements of discord, in hastening the war. Large forces were now raised on both sides, and Henry, not knowing where his dominions would be attacked, separated his troops into four divisions, sending John towards the frontiers of Anjou, and Richard to guard Poictou, while his natural son Geoffrey, formerly Bishop of Lincoln, commanded a third body, and the Earl of Albemarle a fourth.

The course of Philip was soon decided ; and having united the whole of his forces at Bourges en Berri, he marched rapidly upon Issoudun, which was taken almost without resistance. He then forced Gracay, and advanced at once towards Chateauroux. Before he could invest that city, however, Richard and John had thrown themselves into the place, and prepared to defend it to the last extremity. At the same time, Henry bringing the whole of the rest of his forces into one body, hastened to the assistance of his sons, while Philip turned to meet him ; thus raising the siege and permitting the two English princes to join their father. The armies were on the eve of battle, when the clergy interfered, and two legates of the Pope, who had come from Italy some time before, commanded the monarchs, in the name of the Church, to desist from their unchristian quarrels, on pain of excommunication.*

It is certain that in that day the thunders of Rome were very powerful upon the imaginations of men ; but the willingness of these two furious hosts, which William the Breton represents as panting to engage, to lay aside their sanguinary purposes, at the first sound of the clerical voice, would seem

Lodovicus cum filia sua regi juniore quasi in dotem dederat, sibi et regno Franciæ restitueret pacifice. Injustum enim erat ut ipse jure suo privaretur cum ipse cui collata fuerant absque hærede ante annos aliquot obiisset. Voluit etiam ut Britannia minor et soror sua, illa scilicet quæ ante annos plurimos Comiti Ricardo data est in conjugium sibi restitueretur, quæ quasi captiva sub arcta custodia servabatur in Anglia."

* For these events I have depended upon Hoveden, William of Newbury, and Diceto, rejecting the account of Gervaise of Canterbury, which begins with the serious assertion that a certain image of the infant Saviour, in the arms of the Virgin, bled profusely on one of Richard's Brabançons breaking off its arm.

not a little surprising. At the threat of excommunication, the gallant chivalry of England and France instantly dropped their weapons, negotiations were commenced, treaties were proposed, and a suspension of arms was agreed upon for two years, in the convention for which it was stipulated that the territory which Philip had obtained was to remain in his hands to the end of the truce, and that Urse de Freteval should do homage to the French king till the claims of the two monarchs could be finally settled. In the mean time, if we may believe Rigordus, the matters in dispute between the two crowns were to be referred to Philip's court of peers, but this is confirmed by no historian more worthy of credit. The account given by William the Breton, of Henry and Richard running with bended heads and stretched-out arms, and falling at the knees of Philip, is of course unworthy of a moment's consideration;* for the poem of the good Armoricain might be, as indeed it was, extremely prosaic, without abandoning the regions of fiction.

It would seem, however, that Richard took a great part in the negotiations on this occasion, and that Philip applied himself with all that art which he so greatly possessed, to win the affection of the English prince. Nor did he do so in vain, for, after the truce was concluded, the young Duke of Aquitaine remained with the King of France, without the consent and against the will of his father, and even accompanied him to Paris. The French monarch left no means untried, omitted no sign of confidence or affection, by which Richard might be bound to him; and we find that they not

* I cannot place more reliance on the account given by Monsieur Capefigue (vol. i. p. 282), of Richard, when the battle was just about to commence, going over on a fiery courser to the King of France, preceded by his banner and by the Count of Flanders, and declaring that he had come to do homage to that king, and to treat in the name of his father. Where Monsieur Capefigue derived this romantic little incident, I do not know; William the Breton is the only author whom he cites near that place, and the anecdote is placed within inverted commas; but such a statement is not to be found in William the Breton, nor in any other contemporary authority that I have met with, the nearest approach to it being that of Gervaise of Canterbury, which we have noticed in a preceding note. I cannot help thinking that Monsieur Capefigue must have consulted a very different copy of William of Breton from any that I have ever seen or heard of, inasmuch as in every one of the passages which he marks with inverted commas, as cited from that work, I find an immensity of matter which I cannot discover at all in the original. Assuredly the above tale is neither to be found in the Philipeide, nor in the Life of Philip by William the Breton.

only ate at the same table and out of the same dish, but, as was customary in those days, when two persons were desirous of displaying any remarkable sign of confidence, they slept in the same bed.*

The intimacy between Richard and Philip greatly pained and grieved the father of the English prince, more especially as it was known to be the desire of the King of France that Richard should do homage direct to him for Aquitaine, which was evidently contrary to Henry's views. The English monarch accordingly sent messengers to recal his son from the French court, making vague promises to satisfy all his reasonable demands. But the young Duke of Aquitaine, now surrounded by evil counsellors, was not inclined to trust to such assurances, remembering how little stability his father had shown in regard to the donation of Aquitaine. Doubtless, too, the persuasions of Philip tended to anything but peace between the father and the son; and Richard paid no attention to his parent's summons. He did, indeed, at length quit the court of France, giving out that he was about to return to that of his father; but, instead of so doing, he passed through Touraine into Poitou, and pausing by the way at the castle of Chinon, took forcible possession of a great part of his father's treasure which was in that fortress. With the sum thus badly acquired he hastened to his own territories, where he supplied and strengthened his various castles in Poitou.

That this crime was perpetrated at the instigation of Philip there can be but very little doubt; and although the historians of that day leave us in ignorance of what were the arguments made use of to lead the English prince to commit an act which was very little in accordance with his frank and generous character, we may suppose that Philip did not forget to remind Richard that Henry, when he restored Aquitaine and Poitou, had stripped and dismantled some of the castles in the latter territory, for the purpose of

* We have already had an example of this practice in the case of Henry II. and his eldest son, after their first reconciliation. It continued to be common in France down to the reign of Francis I. and Henry II. The last instance that I recollect at this moment is found in the extraordinary anecdote of the famous Francis, Duke of Guise, who, after defeating the Prince de Conde at the battle of Dreux, entertained him in his own tent, and shared his bed with him.

inducing the young duke to repair them from his father's own treasury.

However that might be, Richard soon repented of his disobedience, and returning to Henry's court, he renewed his oath of allegiance, and promised for the future to be guided by the counsels of his parent. The rest of the year 1187 was passed by Henry II. in endeavours to crush the germs of dissension which had shown themselves in various parts of his vast dominions. A dispute had arisen, as we have shown, in regard to the guardianship of the daughter of Geoffrey, the king's son, by Constance of Brittany; and the birth of a posthumous son had but added to the importance of the office demanded by both Henry and Philip. The French king, however—on what account we do not know—seems to have abandoned a claim which was certainly as manifestly unjust as it was audaciously asserted. The nobles of Brittany, however, insisted upon retaining the custody of their own prince, and in despite of the English monarch's express command that the infant should be baptised by the name of Henry, they caused him to receive the name of Arthur, at the font, in honour of the fabulous monarch whom they believed to have reigned over them with so much glory and renown.*

Henry acted on this occasion with wise and temperate policy, vindicating his authority by chastising some of the Breton nobles, who had seized upon the castle of Montrelais and the adjacent territory upon the death of Geoffrey, but consented to leave the guardianship of the young prince Arthur in the hands of his mother Constance, with a proviso that she should take his advice in the government of the duchy. He then turned his attention to provide such a husband for the widowed princess as might attach her firmly to the crown of England; selecting for that purpose Ranulph, Earl of Chester, with whom her marriage was concluded in the year 1188.

The military spirit of Philip, and his animosity towards the King of England, were now displaying themselves more and

* Lord Lyttleton implies that Henry consented to this proceeding on the part of the Bretons, saying: "Their desire was gratified." But if we are to believe William of Newbury, book iii. chap. 7, they gratified themselves without waiting for Henry's consent to the change, and in direct opposition to his first commands.

more openly every day, and the birth of an heir to the throne of France, instead of disposing him to pacific counsels, seemed only to inspire him with the desire of signalising the event by some great conquest. News from the Holy Land, however, reached Europe at this period, of so disastrous a character, that the enthusiasm which had slumbered, or roused itself but faintly, since the time of the first crusade, was re-awakened with all its original fire, and took possession of the minds of all men. Of the events which took place in Palestine, I shall have to give a full account hereafter, and it is only necessary now to say, that towards the end of the year 1177, letters from the east announced to the whole Christian world that the kingdom of Jerusalem was at the mercy of the enemy, and thus no bar any longer existed to the progress of the Infidel.

Urban the pope, then in infirm health, was so deeply affected by the news, that he never recovered the shock, and dying in the end of October of the same year, was succeeded by Gregory VIII. All the cardinals bound themselves to cast away every other consideration, and devote themselves entirely to preaching a new crusade; excommunication was threatened against those princes who should interrupt what was considered the great business of Christianity by private quarrels and hostilities; and the bishops and priests throughout Europe took the same tone, and from their pulpits exhorted all men to assume the symbol of the crusade, and hasten to the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre.

The zeal of the clergy was not less in France than in other parts of the Christian world, and the preaching of the Archbishop of Tours had such an effect upon Richard, that, without waiting for his father's sanction, he took the cross at once (the first who did so in France), an example which was followed by an immense number of knights and nobles of Aquitaine and Poictou. His father was astounded when the intelligence of his son's conduct reached him, and afterwards mildly reproved him for embarking in so great an undertaking without securing his approbation; promising at the same time, however, as the act was now done, to forward his purposes as far as possible.

It is probable, indeed, that, from many causes, Henry was not at all displeased at the prospect of being freed for the

time from the presence of Richard, especially if, as there is little reason to doubt, the English monarch was by this time affected by a criminal passion towards the Princess Adelais.

Vainly imagining that he had placed his continental dominions in a state of security, Henry now proposed to return to England, from which country he had been absent for a considerable time; and after spending Christmas at Caen, he set out for Barfleur, to take ship for England, in the beginning of January, 1188. He had scarcely arrived at that port, however, when intelligence reached him that Philip had assembled an immense army upon the Norman frontier, and declared that he would ravage the transmarine territories of the English king, unless Gisors and its appurtenances were restored, or the Princess Adelais married to Richard forthwith.

Henry instantly re-trod his steps, and once more held a conference with the French king, under a famous elm-tree, between Gisors and Trie. Both princes were accompanied by all the principal nobles of their respective dominions, and by many of the clergy. The conferences commenced on the 21st day of January, and promised to be stormy; but the appearance at the meeting of William, Archbishop of Tyre, charged especially to preach a new crusade, and his eloquent exhortation to lay aside all other purposes, and at once engage in an enterprise which admitted of no further delay, filled the people with zeal and religious fervour. The symbol of the cross was supposed to be seen in the clouds above the meeting; the two kings cast away the thoughts of private enmity; and all present eagerly took the cross, and devoted themselves to the recovery of the Holy Land. The number of the highest orders of the clergy and nobility who bound themselves to the enterprise was immense; and Rigordus mentions, amongst others, two archbishops, two bishops, two dukes, and thirteen counts, each possessing territories equal to a large and important province. Besides these, a multitude of the inferior nobility and knights of England, France, and Flanders assumed the badge of pilgrimage; the crosses of the French being red, those of the English white, and those of the Flemings green. In memory of the great event, the two kings raised a wooden cross upon the spot before they parted, named the ground the Holy Field, and founded a church there, as a monument of their reconciliation and devotion.

The two courts then separated, for the purpose of making preparations, and recourse was had to a tax, which acquired the name of Saladin's tithe, the whole people of both kingdoms, who did not bind themselves to take part in the expedition, being required to give a tenth, not only of their revenues, but also of all their goods and chattels, with the sole exception of the books and apparel of the clergy, and the plate and ornaments of churches.

In England, where we discover earlier than in any other country of the world, a philosophical spirit of internal polity modifying and correcting the enthusiasm of individuals and of epochs, means were taken to discourage the artificers, tradesmen, and yeomen from quitting the land ; and a number of excellent regulations were enacted, at the council of Gritington,* to prevent vice, luxury, irregularity, and want, such as had characterised the former crusades, from affecting the present expedition. Some licence, perhaps not strictly just, but of no very extravagant or iniquitous kind, was granted to persons oppressed with debt, or embarrassed by pecuniary difficulties ; and every encouragement was given to the military part of the population to engage in the enterprise to which the king had pledged himself.

The tithe was exacted with great rigour ; and it would seem that the Jews, who, holding no lands, could not be taxed upon their actual revenues, were pressed somewhat severely by the English monarch. They yielded, however, quietly, and gave about a fourth of their chattels, amounting to nearly a million of the money of the present day. Henry, indeed, was usually so tolerant to the persecuted race of Israel, that they might well be contented to submit to some oppression upon such an occasion as the present, especially as they had now no refuge in France, from which they had been expelled almost immediately after the accession of Philip Augustus.†

The union, however, which had been produced by the preaching of the crusade was not destined to be of long du-

* 11th February, 1188. Gervaise, col. 1522. Hoveden calls the place Gaintington ; and Gervaise, Gaitintune.

† Rigordus, A.D. 1182. The Jews had been previously permitted to acquire lands in France, which were all seized upon by Philip, and united to the domain of the crown.

ration, and the war was first renewed in Aquitaine by the brother of the King of Jerusalem. Geoffrey de Lusignan, born of a turbulent and treacherous race, followed the steps of his brother Guy,* entrapping and murdering, by base and deceitful means, one of the dearest friends of the young Duke of Aquitaine. Although he had solemnly taken the cross, which bound the person who bore it to pursue no purposes of private revenge, Richard was not of a disposition to endure such an injury with calmness; and he instantly armed to punish Lusignan for the crime he had committed. The murderer, on his part, called to his aid such members of his family as were willing to assist him, and all those barons of Aquitaine who were instigated by ancient enmity to league with any adversary of the English prince. The whole forces, however, which could be thus collected were in no degree capable of resisting the power, or frustrating the skilful measures, of the young Duke of Aquitaine. Geoffrey himself was forced to fly from his territories, and seek refuge in the Holy Land; while the revolted barons were driven from place to place, and slain without mercy wherever they were found, unless they voluntarily assumed the sign of the cross, which proved in all cases the most certain refuge.

It is clear that Geoffrey and his companions had been supported in their crimes by the Count of Toulouse, who had aggravated that offence by some injuries which I shall state immediately; and, as soon as the minor conspiracy in Aquitaine was crushed, Richard prepared to take vengeance upon the great vassal of his duchy with the same vigour and promptitude which he had displayed in punishing the inferior insurgents. The troops of the Brabançons were always at hand to aid those who would pay them; and Richard, finding that his own troops might not be sufficient for the more extended operations he was about to undertake, hired a body of these men to aid him in chastising his contumacious vassals. The account given by Hoveden of the early transactions of this war is characteristic both of the writer and of the persons of whom he speaks. "The same year, Richard, Count of Poitou," he says, "the Count of St. Giles, Al-

* Guy de Lusignan, at this time King of Jerusalem, had treacherously murdered the Earl of Salisbury in the year 1168, and had fled to the Holy Land, from the enmity and justice of Henry II.

meric, Count of Angoulême, Geoffrey de Rancun, and Geoffrey de Lusignan, and almost all the great men of Poictou, made war all against the aforesaid Richard, and he against all of them; yet he overcame all.”*

Not warned by the uniform result of all previous contests with the young English prince, the Count of Toulouse had, some time before, seized upon a body of peaceful merchants, natives of Aquitaine, cast them into prison, and treated them with the utmost barbarity, putting some to death, and blinding others. He is reported to have been instigated to this act by the counsels of a favourite, named Peter Seillun,† who, in the contest between Richard and Lusignan, fell into the hands of the former, and was cast into a dungeon, where he was treated, it would seem, with much severity. The Count of Toulouse demanded that he should be put to ransom, but Richard either refused to admit him to ransom, or fixed the amount so high, that the count could not afford to pay it for the deliverance of his favourite. In retaliation, the latter seized upon two knights of the household of the King of England, named Robert Poer and his brother Ralph, who were returning from a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, and having captured them as they passed through his territories, he gave Richard to understand that he would not set them free till his favourite was at liberty. Richard replied at once, that he would neither offer prayers nor ransom for them, inasmuch as the count was bound to free them, on account of the pilgrimage in which they were engaged. The King of France, to whom the count had applied for aid, likewise interfered, and commanded him to open their prison gates at once, out of reverence to St. James of Compostella. The count obeyed, as Hoveden observes, not out of any reverence for St. James, but on account of an enormous ransom which he exacted from his prisoners; and Richard, entering the territories of Toulouse, ravaged the country with fire and sword, reduced the towns of Cahors and Moissac, and captured seventeen

* Hoveden, p. 642. For the events which took place in Aquitaine during this war, see Hoveden, pp. 642, 643; Benedict Abbas, ad ann. 1188; Diceto, col. 639; and for the proceedings of the King of France, compare Rigordus and William the Armoricain with the English historians.

† The History of Languedoc, by Dom Bouquet, calls him Peter Saissun.

strong places in the immediate neighbourhood of Toulouse itself.

Three circumstances worthy of remark attended this warfare. In the first place, Richard, as a crusader, was, properly speaking, bound to abstain from all hostilities against his brother-Christians. This regulation, however, had unfortunately never yet been followed. The stricter rule, however, which forbade crusaders from slaying each other in war, the young English prince obeyed, extending mercy to all who took the sign of the cross, even during his first furious pursuit of Geoffrey de Lusignan, at a time when he gave no quarter to the accomplices of the murderer of his friend. In the second place, we are told, Richard uniformly declared, and even sent word to his father, that throughout the whole of these proceedings he acted with the consent, and by the advice, of the King of France;* and, at the same time, we find that there was a strong suspicion, if not a conviction, in men's minds, that Geoffrey de Lusignan and his turbulent confederates were supported in their rebellion by money and other assistance from the King of England.†

The whole of this part of the prince's history is extremely obscure, and I find no explanation whatever of the fact, that while the young Duke of Aquitaine was positively and openly asserting that he acted entirely by the advice of the King of France, Philip was arming in defence of the Count of Toulouse, and making vehement remonstrances to the King of England in regard to the invasion of his territories. In these remonstrances he once more assumed that the county of Toulouse was a fief of his crown, although the question had been debated and settled many years before. He asserted that Richard had entered the territories of France without a declaration of war; and he paid not the slightest attention to the fact that the Count of Toulouse had actually done homage to Henry, and made him an annual acknowledgment of the feudal subjection of Toulouse to the Dukes of Aqu-

* Hoveden, p. 643.

† Diceto, col. 639. The learned Dean of St. Paul's, from whose contemporary pen we have this account, and who visited the scene of war while hostilities were still going on, assures us that it was Henry's conduct on this occasion which alienated Richard completely from his father,—“*Hac de causa comes animum suum alienavit a patre.*”

taine. All this is strange, but it is still more strange that we should find no account of Henry having justified the conduct of his son by putting forth his undoubted claim to Toulouse as a fief of Aquitaine.

Philip scarcely waited for the English monarch's reply ;* but having already, it would seem, entered into some secret negotiations with the nobles of Berri, he advanced at the head of a large force into that province, and partly by threats, partly by force, and partly by intrigue, he made himself master of Chateauroux, Buzançois, Argenton, and several other places, amongst which Leuroux and Montrichard underwent a regular siege.† Vendôme and its territory were willingly surrendered by its lord ; and the news suddenly reached Henry that Berri, Auvergne, and Vendôme, forming a fine and important part of his territories, were already in the hands of the French king. In reply to Henry's remonstrances, Philip asserted that he had committed this aggression in retaliation for Richard's attack upon Toulouse ; and showing himself deaf to the exhortations and representations of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Lincoln, whom Henry sent to remind him of the sacred engagements which he had violated, he compelled the English king unwillingly to take arms against him.

Hastening his preparations as much as possible, Henry ordered a large body of the Welsh to follow him, and crossing the sea to France on the 11th of July, 1188, he pro-

* The King of England's answer simply was, that Richard's invasion of the county of Toulouse had been undertaken without his knowledge or consent, but that the Duke of Aquitaine assured him it was with the privity of the King of France. Hoveden, p. 643.

† The account of the French historians, Rigord and William the Breton, in regard to Henry being with his army in Berri at this period, and flying before the King of France, is unworthy of any consideration, as there is distinct proof that Henry was during the whole of this time in England, not having quitted the shores of Great Britain till the 11th of July, 1188 (see Hoveden, p. 644) ; before which time the whole of Berri, with the exception of Loches, had submitted, and Vendôme and its territory had been voluntarily given up to the King of France by its lord, Buchard of Vendôme, Philip having taken Chateauroux on the 16th June (see Diceto, col. 639). Negotiations had also been entered into between ambassadors on the part of the King of England and the King of France, and it was only upon finding that Philip was determined to persist in war, that Henry quitted this island to meet him in the field. Dates are stubborn things which cannot be got over, and the dates prove that the account of the two French historians is utterly unworthy of any credit.

ceeded at once to Alençon, where he gathered together the forces of Normandy and Anjou. Before his arrival, however, Richard, at the head of the army of Aquitaine, which had been reinforced by some troops of Brabançois, marched to encounter Philip in Berri. But that monarch, instead of waiting for his approach, retired into his own territories,* leaving one of his most famous knights, William de Barres, in Chateauroux. Richard, however, swept the open country without meeting any important resistance, laid waste the territories of those lords who had traitorously gone over to France, captured a great number of them, and took the strong fortress of Les Roches, in the neighbourhood of Vendôme. In the mean while, Philip and his partisans continued to ravage the frontiers of Normandy; the Bishop of Beauvais burnt the town of Blangi, and destroyed the castle of Aumale, while the king, at the head of another body, advanced from the side of Vendôme, and destroyed the small town of Troo upon the Loir.† Henry then, having been joined by his Welsh forces, formally summoned Philip to restore what had been taken, and on his refusing to do so, abjured his homage, and defied him according to the feudal law of the time.

As soon as this ceremony was gone through, the English king put himself at the head of his troops, and entered France, on Tuesday, the 30th of August, marching straight towards Mantes on the Seine, where Philip was then said to be. As he went, he took and utterly destroyed a number of French cities, and the destruction must have been great indeed, from the lamentation which is poured forth upon the occasion by the French historians. William the Breton counts fifteen towns which were burnt to the ground in the progress of the English king; but Mantes proved a stumbling-block in his way, and he did not attempt the siege of that city.

In the neighbourhood of Mantes, Richard and the Earl of

* Hoveden, p. 644.

† This place has been confounded with Nogent le Rotrou by many historians; but Hoveden and the French writers define its position so exactly, that there can be no doubt of what town they mean. It appears to have been taken after the arrival of Henry in Normandy, and it must be remembered that the neighbouring river is the Loir, not the Loire.

Albemarle, who, it would seem, had advanced with a small party before the rest of the army, encountered the famous William de Barres, Dreux de Mellot, and a body of other knights and gentlemen attached to the court of the King of France. The numbers would seem to have been very nearly equal on both sides; but Richard and De Barres singled each other out, and a combat ensued between them, which has been rendered memorable, as the first instance, in regard to which we have any details, displaying the great personal prowess of the future monarch of England. The French and the English narratives differ in various particulars; but it is evident that this was one of those encounters in which the renown of each of the combatants made him more than usually eager to overcome his adversary. The French account is contained in a poem by William the Breton, which I have already shown to be unworthy of credit in point of facts, although very valuable as delineating the manners and customs of the day. The poet, also, was not yet at the court of France, and was only in his twenty-second year when these events took place. The principal English historian who mentions this combat is Hoveden, who, there is every reason to believe, accompanied the King of England, as his chaplain in his expedition,* and who was at the time collecting materials for his history. His account is confirmed by other English writers, and the more we study his chronicle, the more accurate does it appear.

The French poet declares that Richard, finding he could not overthrow de Barres by other means, killed his horse, but that the French knight starting up at once, struck the young Duke of Aquitaine to the ground with one blow of his sword, slaying the prince's charger with another. Why he did not kill the prince himself or make him prisoner, the poet does not satisfactorily explain. His friends and attendants coming up, we are told by the poet, raised him from underneath his horse, terribly bruised and injured by his fall. He had, nevertheless, strength enough left, the Armorican continues, to attack de Barres again, and being assailed while so doing by another famous French knight, Hugh d'Alencurie, he turned

* Many causes exist for believing that Hoveden was present during the English invasion of France; amongst which is the fact, that contrary to his usual custom, he names the days of the week on which the various events took place.

upon the latter, into whose mouth are put some very coarse expressions, and very speedily compelled him to fly. According to the poet, the French recovered their ground, William de Barres found a fresh horse, and renewed the combat, and towards the evening the English fled.*

The account of Hoveden is much simpler, and undoubtedly more accurate. He says that William de Barres, and some others, with a few French knights, encountered Richard, William de Mandeville, and several others of the household of the King of England. William de Barres, he continues, was taken by Richard, and granted his parole, otherwise, pledged his faith not to escape. While the English knights, however, were engaged in dealing with the rest of their adversaries, William de Barres contrived to mount a horse belonging to one of his pages, and made his escape from the field of battle.

To the mind of the historian, calmly considering the authority of the two writers, there can be no doubt as to which statement is correct; but I have given both, in order that the reader may choose between the two.†

Finding that Mantes was strongly garrisoned, and that Philip, who was in that city, did not come forth to give him battle, Henry marched to Ivry, and lay upon the frontiers of his own territories, watching the movements of his adversary, and committing lamentable ravages in the adjacent districts of France. Richard, in the mean time, retired into Berri, in order to recover as much of the province from the hands of Philip as possible; and the French monarch finding that he was suffering far more by the war than his adversary, sent envoys to the English king, offering terms of peace, the minute particulars of which we do not know, though the main point proposed, we are informed, was the restoration of Berri and the rest of the captured territory. A meeting was appointed at the old place of conference between Gisors and

* The poet puts a speech in the mouth of De Barres, who speaks of Richard as standing in the plain, waiting for his opponents, "like a tower of iron," and says he knows him by "the lion's teeth on his shield."

† It is curious to compare the bombast which characterises the French historians, even in that day, with the calm and simple narrative of the English chroniclers. Gervaise, indeed, seems to have caught the spirit, and even borrowed much from the statements of the French.

Trie ; and Henry, who was first on the field, it would seem, stationed himself, with the small force which accompanied him, under the beautiful tree called the elm of the conference, which has been previously mentioned. The French monarch and his companions, we are told by William the Armorican, were left exposed to the rays of the sun, and were subjected to some unpleasant raillery on the part of the English knights. Philip, after the discussions had been protracted three days, at length giving way to a temper naturally impatient, broke off the negotiations, attacked the King of England with superior numbers, drove him into the castle of Gisors, and cut down the spreading elm which had afforded shelter from the sun to the councils of so many monarchs.*

The representations of the clergy, and a sense of the scandal which such dissensions amongst persons who had already taken the cross, could not but produce, caused the Count of Blois, the Count of Flanders, and a number of other nobles of France to lay down their arms about this time, and declare they would support neither party. Another conference was held in October,† and it was proposed on the part of France that a general restitution of all places taken during the war should be made on both sides, and that the castle of Passy should be placed in the hands of Philip as a security. Henry, however, refused to give up that place as a pledge, and Richard objected strongly to restore the towns which he had captured from his rebellious vassal, the Count of Toulouse, from which he already received considerable revenues.

The conferences thus ended without producing peace ; and Philip, who found that he could not trust to his vassals for support, hired a force of Brabançois, and carried on a desultory warfare against the King of England, till his mercenaries mutinied for their pay. The King of France on this occasion displayed one of those peculiar traits of his cha-

* The fact of the destruction of the elm, and the violence of the King of France, is mentioned by all contemporaries. It is William the Armorican, however, who, in his *Life of Philip Augustus*, mentions that king's attack upon Henry while in peaceful conference. There is some doubt as to the date of this meeting and the order of events. Hoveden places it after Henry's entrance into France, on the 30th August, 1188 ; but Diceto dates it 16th August, and before the march upon Mantes.

† "In crastino Sanctæ Fides,"—i. e. 7th October. Hoveden, 645.

racter which marked him from all the monarchs of his race. Politic as well as revengeful, and ardent though crafty, he often made his passions serve the purposes of his policy, while his policy never neglected the gratification of his passions. Angry at being checked in his course by the greediness of his mercenaries, but concealing his anger with the greatest skill, Philip persuaded them to march to the town of Bourges, by a promise of paying them all that he owed them. In that city, however, he had at command a strong force of native troops; and, on their arrival, the Brabançons were suddenly seized, stripped of their arms, their horses, and their money, and turned out, almost naked, into the fields.*

The winter was now approaching, and with it hostilities ceased between the two monarchs; but a greater difficulty than any which he had yet met with since the commencement of the war was soon cast in the way of the King of England. We learn from the monk Gervaise† that a report was rife at this time that Henry II. intended to exclude his eldest son, Richard, from the succession to the throne, and to bestow the crown upon John. This statement has been passed over with very little notice; but, nevertheless, we must recollect that Gervaise was a contemporary living in England; and although one of the most malignant enemies of Henry II., he is not the less to be trusted, on that account, in regard to the rumours of the day. Such a report naturally irritated and alarmed Richard, who was already impressed with the belief that his father had encouraged the revolt of his vassals in Aquitaine,‡ and now began a series of demands on his part, which he was undoubtedly justified in making, but which ended in a complete alienation of the son from the father. Lord Lyttleton says that this report was certainly false, but he assigns no reason for so confidently believing that it was so; and the obstinacy with which Henry refused to give any security whatsoever that he did not entertain the intention imputed to him, must leave some obscurity upon the subject even to the calm eyes of posterity, while, coupled with the rumours then current, it necessarily created in Richard at the time a conviction that his father intended to exclude him from the throne.

* Hoveden, 645.

† Gervaise, col. 1536.

‡ Diceto, col. 639.

Whether this rumour had already reached the ears of Richard we know not, but immediately after the conference of October, the Duke of Aquitaine offered to submit his quarrel with the Count of Toulouse to the court of peers of France; a concession with which Henry might well be displeased, as Richard held his duchy by homage of him. Shortly after began those applications on the part of the monarch's son, which we have mentioned, for security in his rights; and the first demand was, that as Adelais was now of a marriageable age, his union with her should immediately take place. But Henry still contrived to evade that reasonable request, though what excuse he made we are not told. Richard next required that, according to the common custom of the times, his father should cause the barons of England and of his continental territories to take the oath of fealty to him as heir-apparent to the throne. I do not feel sure, however, that this demand was made previously to a conference between the monarchs of France and England which took place at Bon Moulin, towards the end of the year 1188.*

That meeting was attended by a number of the clergy and the nobility of both realms, and Philip offered, that if Henry would immediately conclude the marriage of his son with the Princess Adelais, and would suffer his barons to take the oath of fealty to the prince as heir-apparent to the throne, he would restore all that he had taken during the war. To this proposal Henry gave a naked refusal, but, nevertheless, during the first day, we are told the conference passed quietly.† On the second, high words began to take place, and on the third, menaces and reproaches ran so high, that the knights were seen to lay their hands upon their swords. A truce was, nevertheless, agreed upon till the day of St. Hilary following; which being settled, and quiet restored in the assembly, Richard addressed his father in the midst of the circle of

* Lord Lyttleton says that this conference took place on the 8th of November; Hoveden is made to fix the 19th of August, or the XIV. calends of September by the printed copy. Neither of these dates, however, is correct, that in Hoveden being clearly a typographical error, by which September has been substituted for December. The XIV. calends of December brings the date to the 18th of November, which is shown to be correct by comparing it with the date given by Diceto—namely, the Octaves of St. Martin, which falls also on the 18th of November.

† Gervaise, col. 1536.

nobles and clergy which surrounded the two kings at a respectful distance, begging him to give him some security of his succession as heir to the throne. Henry, we are told, made an artful but unsatisfactory answer, and Richard, after many entreaties, exclaimed: "I now perceive that what I imagined to be incredible, is probably true!" and immediately turning to the King of France, he unbuckled his sword, placed his hands in those of that monarch, and did homage for all the territories held by the crown of England in France, saving his father's rights during his life and his own fealty to Henry.* The English king beheld this proceeding with consternation and dismay; and the meeting broke up in confusion.

Henry, retiring into Aquitaine, endeavoured to put that province into a state of defence against his son; while Geoffrey, his natural child by Rosamond Clifford, was left in charge of Anjou and the neighbouring districts. Philip and Richard, on their part, prepared to assert in arms the claims they had made as soon as the truce was at an end; and the French king restored at once to the young Duke of Aquitaine the towns of Chateauroux and Issodun, with a considerable part of Berri.

The English monarch passed the winter at Saumur, but while he remained in that place, he had the mortification of seeing a great number of his nobles go over to Richard and Philip, upon whose side there could be no doubt the right lay in the present quarrel. No sooner was the festival of St. Hilary past than the confederate princes entered the territories of Henry, supported by a large body of Bretons, who had joined their party; but their operations on this occasion were confined to some insignificant ravages, and a fresh truce was concluded soon after Easter by the mediation of a cardinal legate. Both kings now agreed to submit to the arbitration of the legate himself, joined with the Archbishops of Canterbury, Rheims, Rouen, and Bourges; and a conference was appointed to be held at Le Ferté Bernard, during the week of Pentecost. The meeting accordingly

* Diceto mentions particularly the saving clause in the act of homage; but he, Hoveden, and Gervaise, all agree that it was for the whole possessions of his father on the continent that Richard did homage; and Gervaise adds, that he besought Philip to give him aid in asserting his rights.

took place; and Philip reiterated the demands he had made before; adding a stipulation, that Prince John should likewise take the cross. Henry, however, had prepared one of his cunning evasions, proposing once more that Adelais should be married to his son John instead of to Richard.* This change of arrangement Philip at once rejected, and the conference broke up without the establishment of peace.

It had been agreed, that whoever resisted the decree of the umpires should undergo excommunication; but that sentence was not pronounced against any of the parties. The legate, indeed, threatened to lay the whole of France under interdict in case Philip did not accede to the proposal of the English monarch. But the King of France answered boldly, that he feared not such a sentence, nor would submit to it, as it was not founded in equity; that it did not belong to the Church of Rome to meddle by decrees or in any other manner with the affairs of France, when the king of that country took arms to avenge upon unworthy vassals and rebels to his sway the evils they had committed, and to defend the honour of his crown. He added, with contempt, that the legate had smelt the King of England's sterlings.

War was immediately renewed. The forces of Henry, now divided with Richard, could ill defend his territories against the united power of his son and the King of France, and he hastened to make fresh levies. But before that object could be effected, Philip and Richard had entered Maine, and had taken a great number of strong places in the north of that province. Henry, anxious for the capital of the county, cast himself into the town of Mans, with his natural son Geoffrey, and a force fully sufficient for its defence. The King of France and the Duke of Aquitaine, however, then made a demonstration upon Tours, and it would seem that the precautions of the English king in regard to Mans were in some degree relaxed, when suddenly the allied princes turned upon the latter city when they were least expected. No sooner was their approach descried, than Stephen of Tours, seneschal of Anjou, set fire to the suburbs, in order to pre-

* Lord Lyttleton gives a different version of this transaction. He says that it was Richard who required John should take the cross; and he makes no mention of Henry's proposal to substitute John for Richard in the contract with Adelais; yet the words of Hoveden are precise.

vent the French from lodging themselves therein ; but, as if every accident was destined to favour the adversaries of the English king, the flames were carried by the wind over the walls into the city, and the houses of the town itself caught fire.* Marking this catastrophe, Philip and Richard hastened forwards towards the stone bridge which one of Henry's officers, with a large body of men, was in the act of breaking down. A tremendous fight now took place for the passage, but the commander of the English was wounded and taken prisoner, his men put to flight ; and the troops of the allies entered the city with them.

The flames were now raging with terrific violence, in spite of all that Geoffrey, the king's natural child, aided by the townspeople and the soldiery, could do to extinguish them ; and it became evident to Henry that he must evacuate the town, and fly before his son and the French monarch. This he effected with a body of seven hundred horse, and a considerable number of Welsh foot ; but the enemy's men-at-arms followed, overtook and slaughtered a multitude of the Welsh, and would have made Henry himself prisoner, had he not crossed the river Huines by a ford unknown to the pursuers. He thus reached the castle of Fresnelles, where he passed the night in great trepidation. His affectionate son Geoffrey offered to remain without, to guard the castle, in case of an attack, but Henry would not suffer him, after all the fatigues he had undergone, to expose himself further, and made him come in and lie upon his own bed.

On the following morning the English king pursued his way into Anjou, causing the principal nobles who were with him to swear that they would deliver the duchy of Normandy to John in case of his death. He likewise despatched his natural son Geoffrey to lead all the forces which could be spared to Alençon, for the defence of the important territory adjacent. Geoffrey was directed to return and join him as soon as Normandy was put into a complete state of defence ; but that gallant gentleman did not effect his junction with his father without great difficulty, as the progress of Richard and the French king had been so rapid as almost to cut off, in the course of a few weeks, his communication with

* Hoveden, p. 652. Diceto says that the King of France and Richard found the gates of the city open.

Touraine, towards which province Henry was now bending his steps.

Amboise and a number of important cities fell into the hands of the allies early in June, and on the 23rd of that month the city of Tours was also captured, in consequence of the waters of the Loire having sunk so low as to enable the French army to ford it with ease. The stone bridge had been broken down on the approach of Philip, but that monarch remarking that the waters were very low, entered the stream on horseback, and sounded it with his own lance. He then caused the shallowest passage to be discovered, and marked out by two spears planted in the stream. Between these his whole forces passed over, and even before the battering engines could be brought to bear against the city, some of the troops had scaled the walls, which were low on the side of the river, so that Tours was captured with scarcely any resistance. No excesses were committed; the unresisting citizens were spared; and the military garrison, which had taken refuge in the citadel, surrendered, and were made prisoners of war.

Distressed in mind* and ill in body, Henry II. lay for some time inactive at Saumur, while Philip and Richard pursued their conquests in Main and Touraine. On the day before the fall of Tours, the Count of Flanders, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Archbishop of Rheims, visited the English monarch, in order to propose terms of pacification between him, Philip, and Richard. We are assured that they were not actually sent by the King of France, but merely had his consent to mediate; and his success against the capital of Touraine, which was known very shortly after their arrival at Saumur, induced Henry immediately to accept their proposal for a new conference between him and his adversary.

A place was appointed, and the two sovereigns, with the Duke of Aquitaine, met on the 28th of June in the neighbourhood of Tours, where a peace was concluded upon more favourable terms than the English monarch might have ex-

* We are assured by William of Newbury that Henry was by this time aware of the defection of John; and the words of that historian (lib. iii. cap. 25) strongly confirm the rumour mentioned by Gervaise, that it was the intention of Henry to deprive Richard of his inheritance, and bestow it upon his favourite son.

pected. The principal points agreed upon were, that Adelaïs should return to France, and be given into the custody of one of five persons, whom Richard should choose. That she should be married to the duke immediately on his return from the Holy Land. That the king should give twenty thousand marks of silver to the King of France for the expenses of the war; and that Richard should remain in possession either of Mons, Tours, and two other strong places, or of Gisors, Passy, and Nonancourt, at the choice of the King of England, till such time as all the articles of the treaty were fulfilled. The English and Norman barons also were required to guarantee the good faith of Henry, binding themselves to go over to Richard and the King of France if their sovereign violated the conditions.

It was remarked that while the two monarchs were conferring, a tremendous clap of thunder was heard, and the lightning struck the ground between them without hurting either. The conference was in consequence broken off for a short time; but as soon as it was resumed, the thunder recommenced more violently than before, agitating the shattered nerves of the King of England so much, that he would have fallen from his horse had he not been supported by his attendants.

On signing the treaty, Henry, we are assured, demanded that a list should be given to him of such of his knights and nobles as had openly or in secret joined the party of Richard and Philip. This was accordingly done by the French king, and to Henry's horror he beheld, at the head of the list, the name of his youngest and favourite child, John.* This terrible information proved fatal to the King of England. The illness under which he already suffered immediately assumed a fatal character, and cursing the day that he was born, he retired to Chinon, where, calling down the vengeance of God upon his sons, and refusing to retract the malediction, he died on the 6th of July, 1189, having reigned thirty-four years, seven months, and four days.†

* This incident may have received some embellishment at the hands of historians, but it is perfectly clear that John had joined in the rebellion of his brother, and that his ingratitude aggravated the illness of the king. "*Johannes filius ejus qui mortis suæ occasio, immo causa præcipua fuerat,*" says Bromton, col. 1154.

† Hoveden, p. 654.

BOOK XI.

THE death of Henry II., which was accelerated by the base ingratitude of his youngest legitimate son, was soothed by the tender devotion of one of his illegitimate offspring. Geoffrey, the chancellor, remained with him to the last, and showed, in the hour when all men abandoned him, the same deep and heartfelt affection which every action of his life had testified. Not so the hireling creatures of the monarch's pleasures, and the ministers of his policy. They watched with eager eyes the rapid approach of death, longing for the time when his treasures should be no longer guarded by his own vigilance, and the instant that the last sigh had parted from his lips, one of those awful scenes of plunder and desertion commenced which have so frequently surrounded the death-bed of men who have been prosperous without being respected.*

The words of Hoveden do not admit a doubt that for a time even the higher personages in attendance upon him abandoned the dead body of their monarch, and gave themselves up to the same spirit of rapine as the rest.† At length, however, his ministers returned, and prepared for the ceremony of his funeral. The body was carried, according to a wish he had expressed, to the church of Fontevrault to be there interred. On the way, the solemn procession was met by Richard himself, who, repenting too late of his recent rebellion, now wept bitterly over the bier of a father, whose faults, we may well suppose, were forgotten by his son in that hour of sorrow and remorse, and whose high qualities as a monarch were long remembered both by his subjects and his allies.

In that age, few great events took place without some accompanying portent, the fruit of the quick imagination of superstition. On the present occasion, we find it recorded, that at the approach of the prince, the dead body of his father emitted blood from the nostrils; but notwithstanding this mark of antipathy even in the inanimate clay, Richard

* Hoveden, p. 654.

† See also Bromton, who says that for some time the body of the king was left perfectly naked.

assumed the place of chief mourner, and accompanied the corpse to Fontevrault.*

The funeral of the late king having been performed, the young monarch immediately proceeded to inquire into the malpractices which had taken place at the time of his father's death; and the great weight of his indignation seems to have fallen upon Stephen of Tours,† seneschal of Anjou, who, it would appear, acted as treasurer in Henry's continental dominions during the last few months of his reign. Whether he formally refused to yield to his new sovereign the fortresses which had been placed in his custody and the treasures which had been committed to his care, or whether he was supposed to have made away with any part of the latter, I do not discover; but certain it is, that Richard threw him into prison, loaded him with chains, and did not set him at liberty till he had paid a heavy fine, surrendered the castles, and given up the effects of Henry to the rightful heir.

We have been accustomed to consider this period as a very dark and barbarous one; and we shall have hereafter to notice several events in which the sanguinary spirit of an uncivilised state of society manifested itself in a striking manner. But we must not omit to remark, in this place, the general lenity experienced by persons taken in actual resistance to the sovereign authority. In the many civil wars of this period, in the revolt of princes, nobles, and cities against their monarchs, we rarely, if ever, find the punishment of death applied to the offenders, even when captured with arms in their hands; and Richard, notwithstanding that remorseless fierceness which was undoubtedly one of the great blots on his character, in almost all instances showed himself particularly mild and placable towards those who had personally injured him. In these times we find that imprisonment, generally for a short period, together with a pecuniary fine, or a temporary sequestration of estates, was the usual punishment of rebellion. It was reserved for an after period to introduce a more sanguinary code, and from the middle of the subsequent century, the severe laws of high treason were gradually enforced and aggravated, so

* Bromton, col. 1151.

† This personage is called Stephanus de Marzai, by Richard of Devizes, who describes him as "*Magnus et potens, singulariter ferus, et dominus domini sui.*"

that epochs which appear in other respects civilised, when compared with those of which we speak, were daily disgraced by the dark scenes of the block and axe, till at length the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries stand forth amongst the bloodiest in our annals. The comparative moderation which we find in the reign of Richard and Henry, may perhaps be ascribed, in some degree, to certain peculiarities in the feudal code. The law recognised cases, in which the vassal was justified in resisting his sovereign even in arms, and it was not always quite easy to ascertain the limits of this right. As the services, also, of the feudatories depended in a degree upon the affection they bore their monarch, and as they could only be called upon to fight his battles during a certain period, and under fixed conditions, it would have been by no means politic in any sovereign to disgust his nobles by a very vengeful exercise of his power. But still, a great deal of the lenity with which subdued insurgents were treated must be ascribed to the habits of the day, and the character of the individuals. We find no blood spilt by Richard on his accession to the throne; and in dealing with those who had been in rebellion against him in his character of Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine, it is clearly proved that his vengeance seldom went further than in rasing the walls of those places which had been fortified for the purpose of resisting his authority.*

After punishing Stephen of Tours, and forcing from his greedy hands the treasures of the late king, Richard hastened from Chinon to Seez, in Normandy, where he was met by the Archbishops of Canterbury and Rouen, from whom he solicited and received absolution for the offence he had committed, not alone in making war upon his father, but in so doing after he had taken the cross.† He then proceeded to Rouen, for the ceremony of his investiture as Duke of Normandy, which was performed in the cathedral, the archbishop binding on the ducal sword in the presence of the assembled

* Diceto, col. 675.

† Diceto lays great stress upon the fact of Richard's having taken the cross, leaving it very doubtful whether he would have looked upon his rebellion against his father as any offence at all, if it had not been committed when he was pledged to the holy war. His words are: "*Sed quia post crucem susceptam arma moverat contra patrem a prædictis archiepiscopis,*" &c.

bishops and nobles, on the day of St. Margaret the Virgin and Martyr, being the 20th July, 1189. The principal barons of Normandy then did homage to their new sovereign ; and on the same day he bestowed the hand of his niece, the daughter of the Duke of Saxony, upon the son of the Count of La Perche. It would seem that a sense of propriety restrained the young monarch, both on the occasion of the homage of his nobles, and on the marriage of his niece, from indulging that taste for pageantry and display which so strongly marked the age ; for the death of his own father, under the painful circumstances which had accompanied it, was yet fresh upon the minds of all men, and that of his sister, the mother of the bride, was even still more recent.

It is probable, however, that the marriage, as well as the homage, was hastened by political motives ; for the relations of Richard with his ally, the French monarch, were of course greatly changed by his accession to the throne of England and to the ducal chair of Normandy ; and the time was rapidly approaching when it might become necessary to enter into discussions with Philip Augustus, in which the support of obedient subjects, and united dominions, would be of no slight importance to the British prince.

Three days after the ceremony of his investiture, Richard proceeded to meet the French monarch, between Chaumont and Trie,* on the confines of their several dominions ; and numerous questions immediately arose, which might have been settled with very great difficulty, had not Philip Augustus shown a degree of generous moderation which, unfortunately, he did not always display in his dealings with his fellow-sovereigns. One of his first claims was, that the fortress of Gisors should be restored to France ; but to this demand Richard positively refused to accede, alleging that not only injury, but eternal shame would fall upon him if he thus consented to dismember his dominions. Philip, it would seem, did not press his application, and Richard, on his part, agreed to increase the sum of twenty thousand marks of silver which his father had promised, in the treaty that immediately preceded his death, by the addition of four

* This Chaumont is a small town on the Troesne, in the road from Beauvais to Chars, a very few miles from Gisors.

thousand more,* which was certainly by no means a full equivalent for the important place which the French monarch had required.

It would appear from the account of Hoveden, indeed, that Philip had not restricted himself to the demand of Gisors, but had proposed to the English sovereign a list of concessions "too long to be singly enumerated;" but the same author says that the gift of the additional sum, small as it was, completely gained the grace and affection of the French monarch, who immediately gave up to Richard all that he had taken from his father—castles as well as cities, and other fortresses, manors, and strong places.

The whole business of a conference, at which some of the most important points which then affected the policy of Europe were to be discussed, passed off without the slightest dissension, and in the most amicable manner. The tone of the English monarch, we are told, was so moderate, kind, and generous towards all men, that it won universal esteem and regard. He seems, with very few exceptions, to have pardoned all offences, to have bestowed numerous rewards upon his friends and supporters; and not only to have confirmed all that Henry had proposed to do in favour of John, but to have promised additional boons, which kindly engagement towards his brother his after generosity far exceeded. Nor was his conduct towards the attached and faithful friends of his father less marked by just and noble feeling; almost all of them remained in office, and every one who had shown real attachment to Henry, even in opposition to himself, had reason to feel that their services to the dead had won the respect and regard of the living monarch.†

Thus when he met his illegitimate brother, Geoffrey, who had been so lately his rival in military renown and his adversary in arms, Richard received him with kindness and affection, and immediately nominated him to the Arch-

* Bromton points out that these four thousand marks were given in payment of Philip's expenses, which is not stated by Hoveden. In regard to the authority of Bromton, see the observations upon that author in the first volume of this work. Gervaise gives a very different account of the whole affair; but his testimony is not to be put in comparison with that of Hoveden and others, who distinctly state the facts as above related.

† Hoveden, p. 655. *Illos vero, qui patri suo fideliter servierunt, secum retinuit et multis bonis ditavit.*

bishopric of York, according to a wish expressed by Henry on his death-bed. So different was this conduct from that which had been expected, and so well satisfied were the friends of the deceased monarch, that the following saying, we find, was in the mouths of all men—

“Mira canam, sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est.”

Nor were such acts of grace and bounty confined to his continental dominions; but before he noticed any one else in England, the thoughts of Richard turned towards his mother, who had been so long experiencing in a prison, not only the consequences of her own follies and errors, but the unhappy results of having survived her husband's affections. An immediate order was sent to Winchester to set her at liberty; and issuing forth from a state of confinement which had now lasted, with a very short interval, for nearly sixteen years,* she assumed at once, by her son's command, the power and authority of regent during his absence.

Eleanor's first act was to proceed from town to town, throwing open the gates of the prisons, and sending envoys into every county of England, to set free “for the repose of her husband's soul” all persons who were held in captivity. Such are the words of a contemporary historian, but it is probable that he referred in this passage principally to prisoners for political offences, as the same writer speaks immediately afterwards of a number of others who were suffering imprisonment, but were evidently not those to whom he had previously alluded. The prisons of England were at this time crowded, and many of the inmates of the gaols had been committed by the ordinary courts. Of these a large part were charged with breaches of the severe forests laws, and were consequently objects of much compassion in the eyes of the people. In regard to the political offenders, it is possible that Eleanor, fresh from the sorrows of long confinement, and rejoicing in a sudden and unexpected restoration to liberty, acted merely upon the impulse of her own sym-

* She was first arrested towards the middle of the year 1173; the day is not mentioned. (See Gervaise, col. 1424.) She was then liberated for a short period in the year 1185, and accompanied her daughter, Matilda Duchess of Saxony, into Normandy, but was confined again in the castle of Winchester towards the end of April or the beginning of May, 1186, on what account does not appear.

pathies, without waiting for the directions of her son. But it was by Richard's own order, we are informed, that she set free all persons imprisoned for infractions of the forest code, and published a general amnesty in favour of all forest outlaws.

Those criminals, too, who had been arrested or outlawed for offences committed against the king or his fisc, received pardon; but a marked distinction, which has been overlooked by almost all writers, was made by Richard between persons in these peculiar circumstances, and those who were detained either upon charges cognisable by the common law of the land, or upon appeal. These were not indiscriminately set free, as has been so generally stated, and the accusations which have been urged against Richard by Berington and others upon this false foundation are perfectly unjust and groundless. The royal grace certainly was extended in a degree to all criminals; but those who were actually in prison, or had been outlawed on account of offences against the person or property of their fellow-subjects, were called upon, before they were liberated, or had their outlawry reversed, to find bail for their appearance to answer the charges against them at an after period; and various other conditions and restrictions were enforced to guard against any danger from the great act of clemency which ushered in this monarch's reign. Thus, all convicted malefactors, to whom the sentence of death or mutilation had been remitted, were commanded to quit the dominions of Richard; and others, though apparently few in number, charged with particular crimes, not very clearly defined, but evidently against the persons of individuals, were retained in custody till their cases could be severally judged or considered.*

* To show how history can be written, or rather disfigured, I subjoin the account of this transaction given by Berington:—"Joyfully did she leave the castle of Winchester; and, with a royal retinue, appearing before the people, *she proclaimed an universal discharge to all offenders*, for the repose of the soul of her husband, and commanded the prison gates to be unbarred. The prisons at Henry's death were uncommonly crowded. She ordered an oath of allegiance to be taken *to herself and son*, whereby every freeman bound himself to defend them, both in life and limbs, against all men and all women. This process was extraordinary, but when a new prince comes, in the festivity of the moment the forms of established order may be disregarded. Relaxed from the control of a severe administration, the nation received the princely indulgence with unbounded applause—acclamation rang through the provinces, but there were men who

The next act of Eleanor, after performing this pleasing task, was to direct that an oath of allegiance to Richard should be taken by every freeman throughout the land. Some writers have erroneously declared that she commanded her own name to be inserted in the oath, but this mistake has arisen from a wrong reading of Hoveden.*

Richard in the mean time prepared to return to England, sending before him several of the English bishops and clergy who had visited him in Normandy, and leaving behind an obedient and well-contented people in his continental territories. Accompanied by his brother John, he proceeded to Barfleur, where the two princes embarked in separate vessels, and steered towards different ports, Richard landing at Portsmouth, and John at Dover. His mother, Eleanor, Ranulph de Glanville, and all the great nobility of the realm, had assembled at Winchester, waiting for the arrival of the young monarch, and from day to day they were joined by fresh bodies of the clergy and barons of Normandy, Anjou, and Poictou, all eager to be present at the coronation of a sovereign from whose valour and conduct great events were universally expected.

censured the proceeding as extravagant, and saw the danger which threatened the future peace of society. Richard landed in England," &c.—Berington, Hist. pp. 358, 359.

* The assertion that Eleanor caused her own name to be inserted in the oath prescribed, and the fact of the people taking that oath with the utmost readiness, has occasioned much comment amongst historians; but the only extraordinary part of it, indeed, would be the fact of Eleanor's name being associated with that of her son—if such were really the case—for the oath is scarcely in any point different from the common oath of allegiance in that day, and there was nothing at all wonderful in the people gladly pledging themselves by their usual engagement to their new sovereign. In regard to the fact of the oath having been taken to Eleanor herself as well as to Richard, I have more than doubts, and consequently I have not admitted it in the text, though the punctuation of the passage in Hoveden may certainly justify that interpretation. My firm belief is, that either by an error of the copyist, or an error of the printer, a comma has been added where there ought to be none. The words of Hoveden as they stand at present, are: "*Quod unusquisque liberorum hominum totius regni juraret, quod fidem portabit domino Richardo regi Angliæ, filio domini regis Henrici, et dominæ Alienor reginæ.*" The comma after the word *Henrici* seems to me to have made the mistake into which Berington and others have fallen, and led them to take the genitive case for the dative; but that comma does not exist in Bromton, who copied Hoveden servilely; and the words which Hoveden himself uses, to point out the manner of each man's homage, "*Sicut ligio domino suo,*" being in the singular number, would seem clearly to show that his meaning has been misunderstood.

Fresh bounties, especially towards Prince John, marked the arrival of Richard in England, and he who had obtained the name of Lackland from the previous distribution of his father's territories, was now invested with some of the richest lordships in Great Britain. The king's affection for his brother had, doubtless, a considerable share in prompting these acts of generosity; but there are some reasons for believing that Eleanor's fondness for John also influenced Richard; and we may likewise suppose that the monarch was moved in a degree by the desire of leaving that prince no reasonable cause of complaint.

That Eleanor had great power over the mind of Richard there can be no doubt; and almost immediately after his arrival in England she endeavoured to exert it for the ungenerous purpose of excluding from the chair of York her husband's natural son, Geoffrey, who had been recommended to that see by Richard, at Henry's express desire. She took advantage, it would seem, of the absence of the Bishop of Durham to instigate an appeal to the Pope against the election of Geoffrey, and induced Richard himself not to interfere till the decision of Rome should be known. The king, nevertheless, continued to treat his brother with great kindness, till an unfortunate quarrel arose between them which I shall have occasion to notice hereafter; but, in the end, the papal judgment having confirmed his election, Richard caused him to be consecrated, and received in York, securing to him all the privileges belonging to that see.

Various other matters occupied the short time which elapsed between Richard's arrival in England and his coronation; and while preparations were being made, on an extensive scale, for the approaching ceremony, the general tranquillity of the realm was interrupted by vehement dissensions between the monks of Canterbury and the primate, upon which we may have to say a few words hereafter, as the firm and decided character of the monarch was thus early displayed in quelling the pretensions of a body possessing vast power over the minds of the people.

In the mean while, Richard caused an investigation to be made into the nature and amount of his father's treasures, which, it would appear, had been deposited in various places. When collected, weighed, and estimated by the commissioners

appointed for that purpose, the value of the whole amounted to 100,000 marks, an immense sum in those times, considering the price of labour and of the first necessities of life. The death of the Bishop of Ely without heirs also added not a little to the wealth of the crown ; the riches he had amassed during his life falling immediately into the royal treasury.

Though liberal in the extreme, Richard at this period was by no means indifferent to the state of his finances, having constantly in view one great and fascinating object, which could not be attained without vast resources ; and in pursuit of his purpose, as we shall soon have occasion to show, he sacrificed many important interests which a just view of policy might have taught him to consider as far superior in magnitude to those for which he was more anxious. After visiting various parts of his dominions, and preparing vessels to carry him from the kingdom which he had just inherited to a distant land and a perilous expedition, Richard proceeded to London for the ceremony of his coronation, accompanied or followed by almost all the nobility of his realm, and by a large body of troops. Everything had been prepared with the utmost magnificence for the solemnity which was about to take place, and men, in the expectation of festivity and enjoyment, but little anticipated the sanguinary and ferocious scenes which were to accompany the consecration of a generous and beloved monarch.

BOOK XII.

RICHARD I., on his accession to the throne, was in the thirty-second year of his age, and endowed by nature with many high qualities of body and of mind. In person he was tall, strong, and active, long in the arms, straight and flexible in all his limbs, graceful of form, and peculiarly powerful in frame. His complexion was fair, his hair approaching red, but not exactly of the colour which is generally called so, and probably of the hue which we name auburn. No man, we are told, possessed more perfect symmetry, or more dignity of air and demeanour. He was famous for every sort of

martial exercise; and we find the wielding of the sword particularly named as an art in which he excelled at this period. His skill in war, too, had been proved upon various occasions; and that the arts of peace were also cultivated by him, is shown by the fact, that in his own day he obtained much celebrity in what was then called the gay science, or in other words, the composition of small and somewhat rude pieces of verse, the first effort of reviving poetry on the north of the Alps.* Beside these qualities, Richard had displayed a degree of moderation and even gentleness in his dealings with all men since he had succeeded to the dominions of his father, which might have been expected, from the clemency which he had generally shown to his vanquished enemies, during the various struggles in Poictou and Aquitaine, but which seems to have taken his subjects by surprise, when, having unbounded power to chastise, he used it, but with two exceptions, to soothe, to recompense, or to forgive.

The feelings of the people then, towards a monarch thus situated and thus endowed, may be very easily conceived;

* The description of Richard given by Vinesauf, though not a little exaggerated, may not be uninteresting to the reader, as showing the excess of admiration, and somewhat servile reverence, by which he was viewed by his people at this period:—
 “Huic autem virtus *Hectoris*, magnanimitas erat *Achillis*, nec inferior *Alexandro*, nec virtute junior *Rollando*, imo nostri temporis commendabiliores facile multifariam transcendens, cujus velut alterius *Titi* dextra sparsit opes, et, quod in tam famoso milite perrarum esse solet, lingua *Nestoris*, prudentia *Ulixis*, in omnibus negotiis vel perorandis vel gerendis aliis merito reddebant excellentiorem, cujus nec scientia strenue agendi voluntatem refugeret, nec voluntas scientiæ inopiam accusaret, quis (si quis forte præsumptionis æstimaverit arguendum) noverit ejus animi vinci nescium, injuriæ impatientem, ad jure debita repetenda, innata generositate compulsum non inconvenienter excusarit, quem ad quæque gerenda effecerat successus elegantior, quoniam audentes fortuna juvat, quæ licet in quolibet suis fungatur moribus, fuit tamen iste adversis rerum immersabilis undis. Erat quidem statura procerus, elegantis formæ, inter rufum et flavum medie temperata cæsarie, membris flexilibus et directis, brachia productiora, quibus ad gladium educendum nulla habiliora, vel ad ferendum efficaciora, nihilominus tibiarum longa divisio totiusque corporis dispositione congrua, species digna imperio, cui non modicum competentiae mores addebant et habitus, qui non tantum à generis dignitate, sed virtutum ornamentis summam possit consequi laudem. Sed quid tantum virum laudum immensitate laborem extollere? non eget externo commendatore, quod amplum laudis habet meritum, laus comes ipsa rei est. Fuit nimirum longe præstans cæteris, et morum bonitate et potentia virum; belloque et potestate memorandus; ejusque opera magnifica omnem quantumvis claræ gloriæ illustrationem obumbrantia. Felix profecto, secundum hominem dico, reputandus, si gloriosis ejus gestis invidentibus caruisset æmulis, quorum fuit hoc solum odii seminarium, quia magnificus erat, quia nimiter nunquam torquebis in vitio quam virtuti serviendo.”

and we find that his coronation was anticipated with a degree of pleasure, and accompanied by a display of feudal pomp, such as is not recorded respecting that of any of his predecessors. On his arrival in London, on the 1st of September, he was met by the citizens, the clergy, and the nobles, and conducted in procession to the palace of Westminster, where he remained till the day appointed for the ceremony, which was the third of the same month. The superstition of the period beheld, with some surprise, that the sovereign had appointed that solemnity to take place on a day marked as unfortunate in the calendar; and there is no historian of those times who does not particularly point out the fact, though in general they endeavour to show that the inauspicious influence of the third nones of September was confined in its effects to the Jews.

Richard, however, paid no attention to evil auguries, and the ceremony took place on the day appointed. It is to be remarked, that previous to his coronation the greater part of the historians of the time do not bestow upon him the title of king, some continuing to call him in their writings Count of Poictou, and others, Duke of Normandy. This would not be deserving of notice, as the sovereign power of the monarch was universally acknowledged in England from the period of his father's death, but the words of Diceto render the fact worthy of consideration, that historian distinctly stating, that previous to his consecration some form of election took place by the clergy and people assembled. He does not describe the manner in which this election was conducted, but he declares that it was solemn, and hints that it was customary. I do not find the fact mentioned by any other contemporary writer; but as Diceto himself was present, taking part in the ceremony, and his statement was written for persons who must have known the facts, there is no possibility of doubting that some proceeding of the kind which he mentions actually did occur.*

Everything having been prepared, and the nobles and people assembled, the clergy, headed by the archbishops and

* I conceive this ceremony to have been different from the ordinary form of presenting the sovereign to the people used at present. The words of Diceto are: "*Comes itaque Pictavorum Ricardus hæreditario jure promovendus in regem, post tam cleri quam populi sollempnem et debitam electionem, involutus est,*" &c.

bishops of the realm, together with the abbots and heads of the monastic orders, proceeded from the abbey, in which they had met, towards the king's bedchamber, having a large cross, with censers and vessels of holy water, borne before them. The monarch received them, surrounded by his nobles; and, the procession to the abbey having been formed, Richard issued forth from his chamber, supported by the Bishops of Durham and Bath, and, walking upon cloth, which had been laid from his bedchamber to the altar, advanced to the church amidst the chants of the choristers and the acclamations of the people. First came the clergy, in their silken copes, bearing the cross, the holy water, the lighted tapers, and the incense; then appeared the priors and abbots of the various monastic orders, followed by the bishops, in the midst of whom were seen four barons, each carrying a large candlestick of gold; next came side by side Godfrey de Lucy and John Mareschal, the one bearing the cap of maintenance, the other, two large golden spurs. These were followed by William Mareschal, Earl of Striguel, and William, Earl of Salisbury, the first carrying the sceptre surmounted by the golden cross; the latter, the golden rod with the dove. After them appeared Prince John, having on his right and left David Earl of Huntingdon, brother of the King of Scotland, and Robert Earl of Leicester, each bearing one of the three swords covered with its sheath of gold. This party was succeeded by six earls and six barons, supporting on their shoulders a large table, on which were placed the royal vestments. Then appeared William Mandeville, Earl of Albemarle, carrying a heavy crown of gold, decorated in every part with precious stones. Richard himself came next, with his two supporters, having the royal canopy borne over his head upon four lances by four of his barons. The rest of the nobility and clergy followed, and entered the church according to their rank.

Passing through the nave, the king, with his chief officers and the dignified and beneficed clergy, proceeded into the choir, where he knelt before the high altar, on which were placed the holy evangelists and the principal relics belonging to the abbey. On these the monarch swore, first, that he would honour and reverence God and the holy Church all the days of his life; secondly, that he would dispense justice and

equity to the people committed to his charge; and, thirdly, that he would annul all evil laws and customs which had been introduced into his kingdom, and guard and maintain all good ordinances.

These oaths having been taken, his attendants stripped him of all his garments except his shirt and hose, the shirt itself being unsown upon the shoulders, in order to permit of the unction. The proper officers then proceeded to dress him in the royal robes, beginning with the golden sandals. Before the tunic was assumed, however, the Archbishop of Canterbury anointed him with consecrated oil on three parts of the body, the head, the breast, and the arms, the three unctions being symbolical, we are told, of glory, fortitude, and knowledge; and at each several act the primate addressed him in a certain appointed form, probably explaining to him the mystic nature of the various parts of the ceremony. This being performed, the archbishop bound his head with the linen fillet, which had been previously consecrated, and placed above it the cap of maintenance. The king was next clothed in the tunic and dalmatic, and the sword of justice was placed in his hands. The golden spurs were then bound on his heels, and the mantle cast over his shoulders, after which the monarch again knelt before the altar, on which was placed the crown. Before he raised it, the archbishop warned him, in the most solemn manner, not to assume so high a dignity unless he was fully resolved to keep the oaths which he had just taken. Richard replied that he was determined so to do, and taking the crown from the altar, he gave it to the archbishop, who then placed it on his head. On account of its great weight, two of Richard's barons supported the crown upon his head, while the primate placed the sceptre in his right hand, and the rod with the dove in his left. The Bishops of Bath and Durham led him back to his throne, after which high mass began, in the course of which the king was once more conducted to the altar, where he offered, according to custom, a mark of pure gold, and then resumed his seat.

On the conclusion of the mass, Richard, with his supporters and attendants, returned in procession to the palace, bearing the crown upon his head and the sceptre in his hand. He was led, we are told, with the same solemn ceremony to his

very couch, where the clergy left him. The monarch then exchanged his heavy crown and more cumbrous vestments for others of a lighter sort, and shortly after proceeded to the coronation banquet, at which the archbishop and bishops were seated with the king in the order of their rank, while the principal nobles served their sovereign at table according to their tenures. The citizens of London acted as butlers, and the burgesses of Winchester as cooks. The hall, it would seem, was thronged with people of various degrees, and several other tables were laid out besides that at which the monarch himself sat.

Whether to gratify the zeal of his faithful subjects, or to guard against any of those acts of tumult and violence which sometimes took place when the wandering traders of the children of Israel were mixed with the Christians at any public ceremony, Richard had published a proclamation, forbidding the Jews, who were then very numerous in London, from entering the church or the precincts of the palace on the day of his coronation. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the Israelites, it would seem, were determined, either from motives of interest or curiosity, to enter the banquet-hall, and witness the festivities which were going on. While the king was still at table, several of the Hebrew people, amongst whom was a wealthy Israelite named Benedict of York, passed the gates on the pretence of offering the king gifts on the occasion of his coronation; but as soon as they were perceived, the inferior persons who crowded the lower part of the hall attacked and drove them out with blows, following them furiously into the space before the palace. Benedict the Jew, of York, was nearly killed upon the spot, and only saved from death by crying out that he wished to become a Christian;* upon which he was baptised, apparently without any decent delay, by William, prior of St. Mary's, of York.

The crowd on the outside of the hall seeing the Israelites thus driven forth from the presence of the king, became possessed with the idea† that it was by Richard's order they

* The words of Hoveden seem to me clearly to imply that he was amongst those at the doors of the hall.

† Not only were the people at the time possessed with this idea, but contemporary, or nearly contemporary historians also. Thus the *Waverley Annals* state,

were attacked, and not content with striking them with the fist, caught up sticks and stones, killing several, and leaving others half dead upon the ground. The report spread like lightning through the city that a general massacre of the Jews had commenced. It unfortunately happens that in every great town multitudes are found ready to follow any example of mischief which may be given to them, crowds speedily collected in various parts of the capital, and pouring into the quarters in which the houses of the Jews were situated, commenced the work of pillage and murder in the most brutal and remorseless manner. Few were suffered to escape, but those who, having friends amongst the Christian population, were permitted to fly to their houses for shelter.

Such was the mad rage of the excited people, that the houses of the Hebrews were fired, even at the risk of burning the capital, a great part of which was then built of wood; and if we may be permitted to form a conception from the writings of many of the contemporary monks and priests, what was their own conduct at the time, it is probable that these abominable acts were, in most instances, countenanced and encouraged by the clergy.* Nor was the offence confined to London alone. The news of the massacre of the Jews spread through the whole country with the rapidity and malignity of a pest. One city emulated another in rapine and violence; and it would seem that of all the great towns throughout the kingdom, Winchester alone displayed the true spirit of Christianity towards the unfortunate Israelites, for which lenity she is severely blamed by some of the contemporary historians.

Such was the general feeling of animosity towards the Jewish race, that few of the historians of the time will admit that the act of their destruction was anything but laudable. Richard, however, viewed the massacre in a very different

after describing the coming of the Jews to the hall, "*Sed rege subinde indignante repulsi sunt,*" &c.

* Richard of Devizes uses the following expressions in speaking of this abominable butchery:—"Eodem coronationis die, circa illam sollemnitatis horam qua Filius immolabatur Patri, inceptum est in civitate Londoniæ immolare Judæos patri suo diabolo; tantaque fuit hujus celebris mora mysterii, ut vix altera die compleri potuerit holocaustum. Æmulatæ sunt aliæ civitates regionis et urbes fidem Londoniensium, et pari devotione suos sanguisugas cum sanguine transmisserunt ad infernos."

light, and was highly indignant that the day of his coronation should be stained by a crime as impolitic as it was atrocious. Accordingly, he immediately despatched Ranulph de Glanville, the justiciary, with several other noblemen, to quell the riot and to protect the Hebrews. The people, however, resisted every effort to repress their violence, and the slaughter of the Jews continued in London till the next morning. It was with the greatest difficulty that any of the malefactors could be discovered and apprehended; and though Bromton assures us that three were hung on the following day by sentence of the king's court, Diceto, a contemporary and eyewitness, declares that, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the monarch, not one could be brought to justice either as principal or accessory. From his account, too, we learn that the leaders of the riot in the capital were supposed to be foreigners; but every statement exculpates Richard from all share in the crime, and shows that he was moved with horror and indignation as soon as it was made known to him. In these respects his conduct stands in bright comparison with that of the King of France, one of whose first acts after his accession to the throne was to strip the unhappy Jews of all their wealth, and to drive them out of his dominions.

One of the strongest proofs of Richard's sense of equity is afforded by his behaviour towards the unhappy Benedict of York, who had only escaped death, as we have shown, by receiving baptism in the midst of the tumult. Having been made acquainted with what had taken place, the young monarch caused the Jew to be brought before him on the following day; and, judging rightly that the unhappy man had only renounced his faith under the apprehension of immediate destruction, he asked him before the assembled prelates whether he had really become a Christian at heart or not? Benedict, in reply, told the simple truth, and was permitted, uninjured, to abjure the religion he had only apparently assumed, though there can be no doubt, that had Richard put him to death for his nominal apostasy, all Europe would have rang with applause of the deed, and, by a strange perversion of terms, would have called the murder justice.*

* The observation of the Archbishop of Canterbury upon this occasion is so characteristic of the man and of the age as to be worthy of transcribing:—"Si

BOOK XIII.

LONG before the death of his father, Richard had entertained a desire of visiting the Holy Land; but a mind ambitious of military fame saw a great distinction between leading and accompanying a mighty force for the deliverance of Palestine. Though he had shown some eagerness to display his chivalrous qualities in that celebrated field of enterprise, and in the year 1187 had actually taken the cross without the consent of his father, yet all his preceding zeal was cool and temperate when compared with the wild enthusiasm which seized upon him when he saw the vast resources of a great kingdom entirely at his disposal.

With more policy and prudence than would seem compatible with his after rashness and profusion, the English monarch, we have reason to believe, concealed from his nobles and clergy the measures which he must already have contemplated, till such time as he was fully established in the supreme authority, and his solemn coronation, as well as a general act of homage, had bound his people to him by the strongest feudal ties. No sooner, however, had he concluded the latter ceremony, which took place on the second day after his coronation, than he seems to have cast every thought and consideration behind him but the one paramount idea of the crusade.

To make preparation for his expedition to the Holy Land, and to ensure the means of carrying out his purposes upon the grandest and most efficient scale, now became his sole object, and for that were forgotten his obligations as a king, the interests of his people, and the rights of his successors. Other monarchs, before Richard, had taken the cross, had sacrificed their possessions, had left their subjects unprotected and but half-governed during a long period of absence. Others had squandered money, blood, and time, and had wasted even the most precious possession of all, wisdom, upon similar enterprises; but they were moved by a different

ille Christianus esse non vult homo diaboli sit." Bromton gives the words somewhat differently, but both may be translated "If he will not be Christ's, let him be the devil's."

spirit, carried on by a higher, though perhaps as mistaken an enthusiasm. *They* were inspired by religious zeal, *he* by the desire of military glory; they went to deliver, he to conquer; and the difference between the motives of other monarchs and his own, marks an important step in the march of society, showing where chivalry first began to separate itself from religion, and where, amongst its mixed ingredients, the military portion assumed the predominance.

Let me not be supposed for a moment to assert that Richard, any more than his father, was without a share of superstition, that he did not regard with veneration that land endeared to remembrance by the blessed work of our salvation, and did not think that he was doing God good service in smiting the enemies of the Christian faith; but that these inducements were the great moving causes in his case, as they had been in those of Godfrey of Bouillon and Louis VII., the whole of Richard's life and deeds distinctly disproves. It was as the knight that he went, not as the pilgrim; as the soldier, not as the friar. At that moment, the only great field for military enterprise, the only arena where vast renown was to be acquired, was in the Holy Land. All other wars but that against the infidel bore some stain upon them. They were stigmatised by the clergy, abhorred by the people, condemned in the severest terms by the Bishop of Rome; but every sort of glory waited the successful warrior in the Holy Land, and thither the young monarch rushed, to seek and win the prize which he pursued through life.

No sooner, then, was the act of homage performed, than Richard, to use the expressive but simple words of the historian,* "exposed for sale everything that he had—castles, manors, and estates."† The whole of the royal domain was sold to the highest bidder, and it would seem even the offices of the greatest trust were rendered venal, for the purpose of collecting money to carry on the war in the Holy Land with the vigour and activity which alone could ensure success. Richard's military experience had already shown him how

* Hoveden.

† The words of Bromton are equally strong:—"Omnia erant ei (regi) venalia scilicet potestates dominationes comitatus vicecomitatus castella villæ prædia officia et omnia his similia."

true is the axiom, that riches are the sinews of war ; and to add to the wealth which he had inherited from his father, appeared to be his only thought during the period of his stay in England ; though, at the same time, the lavish generosity of his natural character was strikingly displayed by the facility by which he granted territories of great value for sums far below their worth. One of the principal, and also one of the first purchasers at this auction of royal possessions, was a grasping and ambitious prelate, named Hugh Pusey, Bishop of Durham, who began by buying the manor of Sadbury, or Sudbury, with its wapentak and the military fiefs thereunto attached, for the small sum of six hundred marks of silver. Not contented with this acquisition, the bishop also applied to purchase, for life, the earldom of Northumberland, with all its castles and appurtenances. Richard made no difficulty in granting his request, and although we cannot exactly ascertain the sum which was paid for this extensive concession, there is every reason to believe that the price of the county was in proportion to that of the manor.* If we might believe the account of Walter Hemingford, we should suppose that Richard felt the stain which such cupidity would leave upon his memory, and consoled himself with one of those bitter jests which monarchs sometimes indulge at the expense of those who lead them astray, even whilst they are yielding to the temptation.

“What a wonderful artist I am,” he is said to have cried, on granting the earldom of Northumberland to the Bishop of Durham ; “out of an old bishop I have made a new earl.”

But as the historian misstates almost all the important particulars of the transaction, we may well doubt the authenticity of the jest.

Numbers followed the example of Hugh Pusey in buying various portions of the royal domain, and indeed the clergy, whether from their greater wealth, or greater ambition, seem to have been the principal purchasers ; but it is to be recollected, that probably at no time was the Church, especially in its highest offices, so corrupt as in the twelfth century.

* Richard of Devizes gives us to understand, that for the county of Northumberland, and some other concessions, in which there is reason to believe the post of high justiciary was included, the king obtained from the bishop the sum of ten thousand pounds of silver. See Richard of Devizes, p. 8.

The bishops, mitred abbots, prebends, and others, did not in that day rise from a body of men devoted to the service of God and to the instruction of their brethren in the pure doctrines of the Christian religion. They were not selected for their learning, or their piety, or their virtue. They were not subjected to long years of study, to any examination of their abilities, or any term of probation. In many instances, as in that of Thomas à Becket, they were chosen from the ranks of the most worldly, the most carnal, the most voluptuous, received the holy orders as a necessary form, and carried with them into the priesthood the same lusts and vices which they had exhibited as laymen; for it is not to be supposed that such miracles as transformed Thomas à Becket, in the space of a few days, from a sinner to a saint, were worked in favour of every influential personage who was thrust into the Church, as the most convenient mode of gratifying his ambition. Various instances are recorded of bishops passing through all the orders of the Church in one day; and such proceedings still more frequently took place in the appointment of inferior ecclesiastical officers, as in the case of Henry Mareschal, on whom the king at this period bestowed the deanery of York. It is not, therefore, to be supposed that the dignitaries of the Church were at this time so pure as to render their worldly eagerness in purchasing the low-priced estates which were now set up for sale in any degree marvellous.

The barons and the earls, indeed, were not backward in the same market, which was at length honoured by the presence of a king; the Scottish monarch, William, having, in the month of September, visited Richard at Canterbury, for the double purpose of doing homage to the sovereign of England for his feofs in this country, and of purchasing the emancipation of his own dominions from all subjection to the English crown. Ten thousand marks of silver were offered and received for the castles of Roxburg and Berwick, together with the renunciation of all right and title to those oaths which the Scottish king and nobles had been forced to take by Henry II.; and in a charter signed not only by the king, but by his brother John, and all the principal clergy and nobles of the land, Richard promised to restore the do-

cuments of every kind by which William had acknowledged himself a vassal of the English sovereigns.

A vague clause, indeed, was introduced into the end of this important paper, leaving the original question, as to whether there was any ancient right in the crown of England to the homage of the Kings of Scotland still doubtful; Richard announcing an unexplained claim in the following words:—"But he (the King of Scotland) became our liegeman for all those lands on account of which his predecessors were the liegemen of our predecessors, and he swore fidelity to us and to our heirs."*

* In describing this charter, Mr. Berington has, as usual, greatly disfigured its real meaning. He says:—"It specifies that the vassalage to which William and his country has been subjected by Henry, were *extorted* during his captivity;" and he adds, in another place, that the King of Scotland did homage to Richard for the fiefs only which he held in England. Now, the charter says nothing of the kind. After speaking of the cession of Roxburg and Berwick, Richard goes on to declare:—"Besides, we have set him free from all conventions and compacts which our father, Henry, King of England, of happy memory, by new charters, and by his capture, extorted from him; that is to say, so that he do fully and entirely towards us that which his brother Malcolm, King of the Scotch, did of right, and ought to have done, to our predecessors; and we will do towards him whatsoever our ancestors did of right, and ought to have done, towards the aforesaid Malcolm; that is to say, in safe conduct coming to the court, returning from the court, and in staying in the court, and in procurations, and in all liberties, and dignities, and honours due to him of right, according to that which may be recognised by four of our nobles, chosen by the said King William, and four of his nobles, chosen by us." He then goes on to state, that if anything has been usurped on the borders of Scotland by Englishmen, it shall be restored and reduced to the same state as before William's capture. After this, Richard proceeds in the following words:—"Præterea de terris suis, quas haberet in Anglia, seu dominicis, seu feodis, scilicet in comitatu Hundendonie, et in omnibus aliis: in ea libertate, et plenitudine possideat, et hæredes ejus in perpetuum, qua Malcolmus possedit vel possidere debuit, nisi prædictus Malcolmus, vel hæredes sui aliquid postea infeodaverint: ita tamen quod si qua postea infeodata sunt, ipsorum feodorum servitia ad eum, vel hæredes ejus pertineant. Et si quid pater noster prædicto Willielmo regi Scotiæ donaverit, ratum et firmum habere volumus: Reddidimus etiam ei ligantias hominum suorum, et omnes chartas, quas dominus pater noster de eo habuit per captionem suam. Et si aliquæ aliæ forte per oblivionem retentæ, aut inventæ fuerint, eas penitus viribus carere præcipimus. Ipse autem ligius homo noster devenit de omnibus terris, de quibus antecessores sui ligii homines antecessorum nostrorum fuerunt. Et fidelitatem juravit nobis, et hæredibus nostris."

It will be seen from the above statement that Richard by no means declared that the vassalage to which William and his country had been subjected by Henry, had been extorted during his captivity, as Mr. Berington says. He only vaguely sets him free from that which *had* been extorted, without specifying what, and especially reserves any ancient claims which the crown of England might have to homage from the crown of Scotland.

The reckless and improvident manner in which the king parted with the domains of the crown, rendered the proceeds very much less than the sum which might have been easily obtained, had a slower and more rational course been pursued. Richard's eagerness to obtain money as rapidly as possible, however, hurried him into acts even less justifiable. It is distinctly stated by all the historians of the time, that he thus disposed of many estates to which he had no lawful claim; and he obtained letters from the Pope, by which he was authorised to remit to any persons whom he should depute to keep his lands, the obligation under which all men lay to take the cross. These indulgences the monarch also set up to sale, by which, we are informed, he acquired an inestimable amount of money.

It is not to be supposed, however, that such acts were committed without remonstrance. Opposition, indeed, there was none, but we find it upon record that some of his nobles ventured to point out the imprudence of the course he was pursuing. Richard's reply was characteristic of the man, and indicative of the rash and childish eagerness with which he followed his object. "I would sell London, likewise," he replied, "if I could find a good purchaser."

One man, however, was found to do more than remonstrate. Ranulph de Glanville, the greatest lawyer of his age, grieved and indignant at conduct which he could not check, resigned into the king's hands his office of high justiciary, beseeching permission to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The post which he abandoned was immediately sought by the covetous Bishop of Durham, who, there can be no doubt, employed the same corrupt means to obtain this office which he had used for the acquisition of Northumberland; but in this instance, Richard did not altogether show the facility he had previously evinced, and though he partially granted the bishop's suit, he associated with him several other personages, for the execution of those high and important functions which Ranulph de Glanville had exercised undivided.

About the 15th of September, the king named, in a council held at Pipewell, six persons as commissioners to perform the office of high justiciary. The name of the Bishop of Durham was the first upon the list; that of William, Earl of Albe-

marle, came next ; and his was followed by those of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William Brewere, Robert Wihtfield, and Roger Fitz-Remfrid. The death of some of these parties, and the influence of others over the mind of the king, caused various changes in this arrangement ; and, indeed, there is some reason to suppose that the four latter-named gentlemen were not invested with the same powers, but were appointed more to act as the council of the two first, than actually to participate in their authority.

The Earl of Albemarle, however, died in Normandy two months after his appointment, and, before the king quitted England, he issued a new commission, in which the name of the Bishop of Durham still stood first, while that of William Longchamp,* Bishop of Ely, the chancellor, took the place of the Earl of Albemarle, and Hugh Bardolf and William Mareschal were substituted for Robert Wihtfield and Roger Fitz-Remfrid. The whole of the real power passed into the hands of Pusey and Longchamp, and from that moment a struggle commenced between them, the particulars of which we shall have to notice hereafter.

The people of England, however, saw with consternation by whom they were to be governed ; and while they scorned the weak old man, whose wealth had served to raise him to a share in one of the highest offices of the state, beheld with apprehension the greater portion of the king's delegated authority entrusted to Longchamp, a man of low birth and evil repute, in point of probity and good faith.

The resignation of Ranulph de Glanville' was followed by other acts on the part of the king of a still less popular character. The high justiciary himself was not suffered to depart in peace on his journey to the Holy Land. Notwithstanding his advanced age—notwithstanding his long and meritorious services, he was arrested by order of the king, and only recovered his liberty upon the payment of a sum of fifteen thousand pounds of silver. What were the offences with which he was at this time charged we know not ; but as it is evident that he had enriched himself immensely under Henry II. ; and, as he is placed by the historian* in the same category with the seneschal of Anjou,

* The authority for the arrest of Ranulph de Glanville is the Chronicle of Richard of Devizes, who gives no date to the event, but places it in the beginning

who we know was accused of embezzling the royal treasure, there is reason to suppose that it was the crime of peculation for which he suffered punishment, whether justly or unjustly it is impossible now to say. We must not, however, omit to state, that one of the most horrible crimes which man can commit was laid to the charge of the justiciary, in the year 1184, he having, according to Hoveden, condemned a gentleman named Plumton to death, without cause, solely for the purpose of giving the hand of his widow, with the estates she inherited, to the sheriff of York. Plumton was saved by the interposition of the populace and one of the bishops, when the rope was actually round his neck, but was kept in prison till the accession of Richard.

The sheriffs of the counties, upon light and insufficient accusations, were, it would appear without exception, deprived of their offices, together with their bailiffs, nearly at the same time with Ranulph de Glanville, and were mulcted in severe fines, which greatly added to the royal treasure.* Murmurs were heard throughout the whole country; and reports were spread of a character which could not have been very gratifying to Richard, then in the pride of health and strength.

A general and very natural conclusion in the minds of men was, that his present profuse alienation of the royal domains, when on the eve of his armed pilgrimage, argued an intention of never returning from the Holy Land. Many a prince had lately offered an example of such conduct, and it was with difficulty men could bring themselves to believe that a monarch would strip his crown of all the possessions, which afforded the only certain revenue, in those days, for the maintenance of its dignity, unless he proposed to seek new dominions. Others, again, attributing to him greater devo-

of Richard's reign, and immediately after his coronation. I see no reason, however, to doubt the accuracy of the statement, which is perfectly clear and precise; and I have placed it after the justiciary's resignation, which is mentioned by all contemporary historians, as it is clear he was never restored to the office; and Richard of Devizes distinctly states that he fell into complete disgrace both with the monarch and the people.

* Richard of Devizes places the deprivation of the sheriffs before the resignation of Ranulph de Glanville; but Bromton so distinctly marks that it followed as a sort of consequence upon the fall of the high justiciary, to whom most of them owed their offices, that I have followed his arrangement without hesitation.

tion than we have any reason to believe he possessed, imagined that he felt a conviction his days would terminate in Palestine, and were busy in spreading reports that his health was already severely affected in various ways. Some said that he was already worn out with the excessive labour in arms which he had sustained from his earliest years ; others, that he had contracted a quartan fever, by which his strength had been so undermined as to leave no hope of his enduring the fatigues of an expedition to the east ; and others wildly declared that recourse had been had to more than a hundred blisters in various parts of his body, "to dry up the corrupt humours." We all know what absurd tales can be circulated, even in the most civilised times, regarding the health of those on whom the weal of the state so greatly depends ; and therefore it can be matter of no surprise that such idle rumours should have been current even at a time when we are informed, by one of his personal attendants, he was in the highest health, and in manly vigour surpassing any of his subjects.

We do not find that Richard showed any irritation at the remonstrances which were addressed to him regarding his prodigality, or at the reports which were current respecting his health. Animated by one great enthusiasm, and conscious of his vast corporeal powers, he treated both with sovereign contempt ; and when pressed hardly, and even reasonably, on any particular act, his answer was always a jest, showing even his most faithful servants how little weight he gave to their opinion when opposed to the object which he had set before him.

In the mean while, he did not want encouragement to pursue the course on which he had entered. Letters from popes and prelates urged him, in the most vehement manner, to abandon all things and hasten to the deliverance of Jerusalem ; and the most lamentable pictures were daily placed before his eyes of the state of the Christians of the Holy Land, and the conquering progress of the infidel. Envoys from the King of France also arrived in England in the month of November, for the purpose of notifying to Richard that Philip, with all his nobles, who had taken the cross, had sworn upon the holy Evangelists to assemble in arms at Vezelay, by the end of Easter, for the purpose of proceeding

to Palestine ; and the Count of la Perche, who was the principal ambassador on this occasion, was directed to require that the King of England and his barons should bind themselves, in the same solemn manner, to meet the French monarch and nobility at that place. Richard hesitated not to enter into the engagement, and in the presence of the envoys he, and many of his court, took the oath, which was also committed to writing.

Signs and wonders were of course not wanting to raise the enthusiasm of the people. A white banner was seen in the air, together with a crucifix, by the inhabitants of Dunstable, and various similiar appearances marked the importance of the occasion, and the agitation in the minds of men. So great, indeed, was the enthusiasm amongst the populace, both in France and England, that it would appear large bodies of men, amongst whom were a number of the citizens of London, were not content to wait for the march of their kings and the great body of the crusade, but hiring ships for themselves, set out for the Holy Land by sea. One party of these more zealous crusaders, eager to try their arms on the very first opportunity, landed in the Peninsula, attacked and took a town, at that time in the possession of the Arabs, established therein the Christian religion, and handed it over to Sancho, King of Portugal.*

Tidings of this event speedily reached Great Britain, and it may be easily conceived that the successes of his subjects against the infidel only tended to excite in the bosom of the King of England a more eager desire to commence his march. Various impediments, however, delayed the monarch for some time ; and, had he attended to the voice of reason, the state of his country in general, and the dangers which were already apparent, would have induced him to defer the expedition till he had removed the many elements of discord which existed both in his family and in his kingdom. The harvest had been scanty, and famine had already shown itself in the land ; dissensions of the most virulent character raged in the Church ; Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, a violent and irreverent prelate, was at open enmity with many of the other clergy ; a strong feeling of animosity reigned between the secular ecclesiastics and the monastic orders, and lan-

* Hoveden calls this city *Silvia*.

guage of the most coarse and vituperative character was mutually used; while at the same time the consequences of many of Richard's own acts were beginning to appear, in the open resistance of persons whose rights he had infringed.

One of the first to offer opposition to his will was his brother Geoffrey, on whom, as we have shown, he had conferred the Archbishopric of York, in execution of the intentions of his father. Eleanor, with pertinacious hatred towards the race of fair Rosamond Clifford, had taken an early opportunity, as we have already seen, of endeavouring to sow dissensions between her son and the son of the concubine. But Richard had persevered in his purposes; and in the council of the English clergy, held at Pipewell, at the same time that he named four bishops to the sees which had been left vacant by his father or had become so since his own accession, he formally raised his illegitimate brother to the Archbishopric of York. This act produced immediate strife; Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, asserted his primacy, and would seem to have somewhat stretched the pretensions of his see, not only reviving all the old discussions which had arisen in the time of William the Conqueror, but formally prohibiting Geoffrey to receive consecration, or even holy orders, from any other prelate than himself, and equally forbidding all other prelates to give him ordination. He thus evidently far exceeded the claims of Lanfranc, for although the decision of the synod of 1072 might be construed to extend to the right of consecration, it could by no means confine to the Archbishop of Canterbury the sole right of ordination.* The council did not decide upon the pretensions of the primate, but it is evident that Geoffrey strongly opposed them, as, a few days after, he received priest's orders from the hands of a Scotch bishop. The archbishop appealed to the Pope, but, in the mean time, the quarrel to which we have alluded arose between Richard and Geoffrey, in regard to the rights of the see of York. Immediately after the

* Dr. Henry, in a sketch of the religious history of England, does not touch upon the question of ordination; yet the words of Hoveden are precise. The charter which Baldwin produced upon the present occasion, purporting to be one granted by William the Conqueror, as recited by Hoveden, contains many assertions directly contradicted by all the historians of William's reign. I have thought it right to notice this fact, although I shall not attempt to explain or reconcile the opposing statements, as they bear very slightly upon the reign of Richard.

nomination of the bishops, at Pipewell, the king had proceeded to distribute some inferior Church dignities, amongst which were the deanery of York and three other clerical offices in the cathedral of that city. If the Archbishop of Canterbury showed himself jealous of his privileges, Geoffrey was no less so, and he now loudly declared that Richard's appointments in his see could not hold good without his consent. His resistance irritated the king in the highest degree; and by a stretch of authority which, under a less powerful monarch, would have produced vehement opposition at almost any period of British history, Richard forfeited or disseized Geoffrey, not only of the archbishopric of York, but of all his possessions on both sides of the sea. A fierce feud took place in consequence between the two brothers, and Geoffrey quitted the royal court, determined, it would appear, to assert his rights. The clergy of the diocese now showed themselves inclined to support their archbishop, and when the new-made dean presented himself at the cathedral for the purpose of his installation, the prebends refused to proceed to that ceremony, declaring that none but the archbishop himself could instal the dean.

The precentor of the church, however, yielded on this point, and the dean took formal possession of his office. But when Buccard de Pusey, Archdeacon of Durham, to whom the king had given the office of Treasurer of York, appeared at the cathedral, the same precentor positively refused to admit him, asserting that the important dignity had been bestowed upon him by Archbishop Roger, with the consent of Henry II., and the archdeacon retired disappointed.

Shortly after, Geoffrey himself made his entry into York, and was received in solemn procession by the clergy of the cathedral. His first act, however, was to refuse admission to the dean and treasurer, alleging that he could not yield to their claims till his own election had been confirmed by the Pope.

Such was the state of the Church in the northern part of the kingdom towards the end of October, 1189, when Richard was hastening all his preparations to leave England; and at the same time, disputes still more furious existed, in the south, between Archbishop Baldwin and the monks of Canterbury. The election of Baldwin had, at the time of his eleva-

tion, been strenuously opposed by the convent of Canterbury ; and, actuated, it would appear, by a spirit of revenge, which, like all other bad passions, will frequently conceal itself under a holy garb, the archbishop, almost immediately after he had assumed the mitre, began to erect a magnificent chapel and monastery at Hackington, in the suburbs of Canterbury, dedicating it to St. Thomas à Becket, and assigning a fourth part of all oblations received at the tomb of the martyr for the building and support of the new church. The monks of Canterbury took fright at the diminution of their revenues, and vehemently opposed the construction of buildings in which they saw the rise of a rival to their own monastery. Appeals were made to the Pope on both parts, and various contradictory decisions were given by the holy see, which at that time passed rapidly from one pontiff to another, Urban, Gregory, and Clement having succeeded each other at intervals of a very few months. Ultimately, however, the decision of the Pope was definitely given in favour of the monks, but the archbishop still held out, supported by Henry II. and the whole power of the crown, treating the monks with considerable severity, and even threatening their dispersion ; while the self-denying cenobites, on the other hand, employed the whole artillery of Rome to alarm or injure their opponents.

These quarrels had convulsed the realm for some time at the period of Richard's accession, and a cardinal, John of Anagnia, had been sent over by the Pope to terminate the disgraceful dispute, and restore peace between the primate and his convent, the monks of which the prelate in the broadest terms, and not the most Christian spirit, had more than once given over to Satan. In this intemperate language he was warmly seconded by the Bishop of Chester, who did not scruple to say, that if he were listened to there should soon not be a monk in England, adding, " Monks !—to the devil with them."

In the month of November, 1189, the cardinal legate arrived at Dover, but Richard being warned of his coming, and rendered cautious by the example of his father, resolved that no one should interfere in the affairs of the English Church if he could possibly prevent so dangerous an intrusion. He accordingly sent messengers to meet the

cardinal at Dover, formally prohibiting him from advancing any further, while he himself hurried down to Canterbury, with a number of prelates and abbots, to decide the dispute between Baldwin and the monks.

The powerful and vigorous mind of Richard, and the prompt and rigorous exercise of his authority, soon brought about that which Ranulph de Glanville and others had in vain attempted to effect. He inquired minutely into the causes of the dispute; and then, in secret council with the bishops and abbots who had accompanied him to Canterbury, he decided upon the steps to be taken. In the first place, he endeavoured to reason with the convent, and suggested, it would appear mildly, that it would be better for the monks to submit to their archbishop, if that prelate could be induced to pull down a chapel which he had built, contrary, as they asserted, to their rights and privileges, and to remove the obnoxious Prior Roger. It is evident, however, from the account of Gervaise, one of their own body, that the convent showed a refractory and implacable spirit, refusing all concession, and Richard then proceeded to enforce obedience with a powerful hand. At the end of three days' discussion, the monks being assembled in the chapter-house, together with the bishops and other high dignitaries of the Church, to hear the decision of the king, Richard proceeded thither, with a crowd of attendants and spectators, and commanded the Archbishop of Rouen to pronounce the award on which he had previously determined. That prelate then, standing in the midst, after silence had been obtained, declared the judgment of the king and the bishops present to be, that the primate had every right to build his chapel wheresoever he thought fit, and also to appoint the prior; and, moreover, that the convent had only to cast itself upon the mercy of the archbishop, who would thereupon grant forgiveness.

The consternation of the poor monks at this unexpected sentence seems to have approached the ridiculous, and for some moments they remained in silent despair. At length, however, having been directed to stand forth in the midst, one of them, more bold than the rest, raised his voice to remind the king of the proposal which had been made to the convent in regard to the demolition of the chapel and the removal of the prior—a proposal which they had previously

treated with scorn, but were now very anxious to revive. But Richard, stretching forth his arm with an angry gesture, commanded him sternly to be silent, and then bade the monks go down upon their knees. The order was immediately obeyed by the astounded brethren, who remained in stupified silence for several minutes, till one of the eldest of them recovering his senses, and perceiving the inutility of further resistance, addressed the archbishop in humble terms, beseeching him, if they had offended him in anything, to forgive them, and to preserve the rights of the church and the convent.

The archbishop in return replied, as had been previously agreed upon between himself and the king, that he pardoned them and theirs, with the exception of the sub-prior, who was not present; upon which, the monks cast themselves at his feet, excusing the sub-prior, and entreating that he might be included in the pardon. To this petition the archbishop answered, "Let him come then as you have come, and seek forgiveness, and he shall receive it as well as yourselves;" and then added, as he had been directed, "As you have besought me to forget my indignation towards you and yours, so I beseech you to forgive me from the heart for anything that I have said or done to offend you."

The Archbishop of Rouen then again rose, and announced that by the will of the king and the bishops there present, and with the consent of the archbishop, it was determined that the prior, Roger, should be removed, and the obnoxious chapel destroyed: tidings which were heard with much gratification by the monks, who, from the strong vindication of the archbishop's authority, by the king, in the commencement of these proceedings, had imagined that their claims were altogether rejected.

Thus terminated the dissensions between Archbishop Baldwin and his monks; and, while the primate consoled himself for the destruction of the chapel and convent at Hackington, by building a church at Lambeth, and bestowing it upon the secular canons who were ejected from the building which he had been ordered to pull down, Richard gave the wealthy abbey of Evesham to the deposed Prior Roger, as a compensation for the loss he had sustained.* Mes-

* Dr. Henry looks upon this termination of the dispute as a complete triumph

sengers were then despatched to bring the legate from Dover, and he was received in Canterbury with all sorts of honours, which, however, were not sufficient to compensate in his eyes for the insult offered to his authority by the act of the king in deciding the quarrels in the metropolitan church without his intervention.

Another important point remained to be settled in the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, and in this the legate was permitted to decide. The Bishops of Durham and Salisbury had appealed to the Pope against the election of Geoffrey to the see of York, alleging that their voices had not been taken, and that the first vote lay with them. At the same time, the newly appointed dean and the treasurer of York had also appealed against the election, not without the suspicion of being instigated by Eleanor to oppose the son of Rosamond Clifford. But their appeal set forth different motives from those which were avowed by the two bishops, and was couched in terms savouring strongly of personal enmity. They accused Geoffrey of homicide, and declared him incapable of receiving the mitre, as "the offspring of adultery, and born of a harlot."

The legate, however, after having listened to their objections, treated them as frivolous, and solemnly confirmed the disputed election; probably not displeased, in some degree, to mortify Richard, who was still at enmity with his brother. Geoffrey, however, not long after, took advantage of Richard's predominant passion at the moment, to recover his good-will; and, by a promise of giving him three thousand pounds sterling, in aid of his expedition to the Holy Land, he induced the king to restore to him all the estates and territories on both sides of the sea which he had received from his father

on the part of the monks, but whoever reads the account of Gervaise will find that the convent of Canterbury regarded it in a very different light, and mourned over their abasement with many expressions of grief and indignation. It is true, that the king ordered the demolition of the obnoxious buildings, and the removal of the prior to whom the monks objected, but he did not do so till he had humbled the monks before the archbishop; and he could not well do otherwise, without casting off altogether the authority of the holy see, which had been appealed to in a question purely clerical, and had decided, not only on those two points, but on many others, in favour of the convent. It is somewhat too much to expect that the king, while vindicating his own authority, should altogether set at nought the decisions, in ecclesiastical matters, of a prelate then universally acknowledged to be the head of the Church.

Henry, and also to confirm him in the archbishopric of York.

So entirely, indeed, did the placable monarch forget his anger, that he added, of his own free will, some additional gifts and privileges; and, in return, Geoffrey received the personages whom Richard had nominated to offices in the church of York, promising to have them duly and solemnly installed after his consecration. Having terminated his short visit to England with an act of beneficence, Richard, with his attendants and the cardinal legate, set sail from Dover on the 11th of December, and landed safely at Calais, where he was honourably received by Philip, Count of Flanders, who escorted him, with every mark of respect, to the confines of Normandy.

BOOK XIV.

IN a preceding part of this volume I have given a detailed account of the events which had occurred in the Holy Land previous to the year 1176, at which period Henry of England and Louis of France solemnly pledged themselves to take the cross, and march to the deliverance of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem from the enemies and dangers which menaced it on every side. The narrative then conducted us down to the period when the power of Saladin was consolidated by the union of almost all the Syrian dominions of Nouredin with those territories in Egypt, which his own genius and that of his uncle had only nominally added to the Attabec empire. I have shown how he triumphed over the son and over the kinsman of his former lord, while, by temporary expedients, he suspended the operations of the Christians against him, and if he did not actually lull them into a feeling of security, at all events sowed dissensions in their councils, and deprived them of both harmony and vigour, at the only moment when the combined exertions of the knights and nobles of the Latin kingdom might have found a fair opportunity of preventing the reunion, under one Mahomedan prince, of that vast military power which, at the death of Nouredin, had been scattered and divided.

Having related these facts, it seemed necessary to turn to the events immediately connected with English history, which took place between the year 1176 and Richard's accession to the throne; and in so doing, I have been frequently obliged to refer to the progress made by the Mahommedans of Syria in their warfare against the Christian princes of Palestine, contenting myself, however, with general statements respecting the disastrous condition to which the kingdom of Jerusalem was reduced, and reserving a more detailed account of the tragic occurrences which involved that kingdom in utter ruin for the part of the work which immediately precedes the famous expedition of Richard himself to the Holy Land, in order that every reader may comprehend the views and feelings with which the crusaders at this time drew the sword. We have now arrived at the point where it is necessary to resume once more the history of the Latin States of Palestine, and to bring it down to the time when Philip and Richard commenced, in earnest, their preparations for the third crusade.

In describing the political state of the Holy Land previous to the inglorious expedition of Louis VII., William of Tyre informs us that the country was divided into four separate principalities, of which the kingdom of Jerusalem was the chief; and he gives a lamentable picture of the selfish and interested views upon which all the princes of these four small states acted, utterly thoughtless of the common good, except in the presence of immediate and pressing danger, and each seeking nothing but his own aggrandisement by the extension of his territories. The aspect of all things, however, was very different at the period of which I now speak, and the object of ambition to the nobles of the Holy Land was no longer the acquisition of territories to be wrested from the infidel, but the government of the kingdom of Jerusalem, either as the minister of a diseased and declining monarch, as his successor on the throne, or as regent of the kingdom under a still weaker and less talented sovereign.

Perceiving that the malady under which he himself suffered was daily increasing, while the internal diseases of the state were making as rapid a progress, Baldwin, in order to put a stop to the intrigues which were going on around him, invited from Italy, William, called Longsword, son of the Marquis

of Montferrat, and bestowed on him the hand of his sister Sybilla. By the military skill for which he was famous, and by the mighty houses to which he was allied, the Leper monarch doubtless expected that William of Montferrat would prove a strong prop to the tottering throne of Jerusalem; but ere he had been many months in the Holy Land, the Italian prince was seized with a fatal distemper, and terminated an illustrious career in June, 1177, leaving his wife some months advanced in pregnancy.

Scarcely had he closed his eyes when the arrival of Philip, Count of Flanders, with considerable forces, and a numerous body of nobles, raised the hopes of the Christians of Palestine, [only, however, to disappoint them severely. New intrigues sprang up immediately after his arrival; and though Baldwin, incapacitated for the time by illness, either to mount his horse or to conduct the civil government of his country, offered to his distinguished guest the regency of the kingdom of Jerusalem, it soon became evident to all the monarch's counsellors that Philip aimed at still greater advantages. He was frustrated, however, by the penetration and firmness of Baldwin's advisers, and, mortified and angry, he brought disunion into all the councils of the King of Jerusalem, impeding, and, in the end, preventing, the execution of a long-arranged enterprise against Egypt, in which the Emperor of Constantinople was to have borne a part.

After much hesitation and unknighly delay, having learned that Saladin, alarmed at the demonstrations made on the side of Egypt, had gathered together all the forces he could collect, and quitted Syria to defend the African portion of his dominions, leaving the defence of his Asiatic territories to his brother, Touranschah, a weak and incompetent prince, the Count of Flanders agreed to lead his men towards Aleppo, supported by a large body of the troops of Jerusalem, and co-operating with another Christian army under Renault, Prince of Antioch, who had been appointed regent of the kingdom upon his own refusal of that office.

It is necessary to remark that, according to the account of the Arabians, a truce existed between the King of Jerusalem and Malek Saleh, the young sovereign of Aleppo; but a strange clause, it would seem, had been inserted in the convention, to the effect that if the Franks of Palestine received

succour from the west, they were at liberty to resume the war. The first efforts of this expedition were directed against Hamah, but the Christians were there repulsed with great loss, and they then turned their arms against Harem, which they hoped more easily to reduce, as it was actually in a state of insurrection against Malek Saleh. That city had been for some time ruled by an emir named Kemeschtekin, supposed to have been of Christian origin, and even of European descent, if not actual birth. He was accused by the bigoted Mahommedans of still retaining the true faith at heart, or at least of feeling so much tenderness towards the professors of the Christian religion, as to favour them at the expense of his duty. Certain it is, that for some motives which we do not clearly perceive, he had liberated a number of Frankish prisoners; amongst whom is said to have been the famous Renault de Chatillon, who afterwards played a remarkable part in the Holy Land under the name of the Lord of Carac, as one of the most terrible scourges of the infidel. These charges had prevailed so much with Malek Saleh, that he ordered the arrest of Kemeschtekin, and afterwards put him to death. But before the latter act was perpetrated, the people of Harem had thrown off the yoke of Aleppo, and were besieged by the Christian forces under the command of the Count of Flanders and the Prince of Antioch. Of this siege it will be merely necessary to say that it lasted for several months, occupying the Christian troops in a vain and ineffectual effort; and that, in the end, it was terminated by the payment of a sum of money to the besiegers, and an ignominious retreat, after they had spent the time which ought to have been devoted energetically to the reduction of the fortress, in games, drunkenness, and debauchery.*

While such proceedings were taking place in Syria, much more important events occurred on the Arabian frontier of Palestine. Saladin received speedy intelligence that the Christians had broken their truce with Malek Saleh; and, either ignorant of the stipulation which enabled them to do so without a breach of faith, or regarding that stipulation in itself as unjust and iniquitous, he complained loudly of the act, and subsequently caused a number of Christian captives

* Guil. Tyr. lib. xxi., who in all these details is supported by the Arabian historians.

to be beheaded, by way of reprisals. At the same time, with his usual keen and clear-sighted decision, he prepared to take advantage of the gross error which the Christians had committed in consequence of the perfidious conduct of the Count of Flanders.

Instead of attacking the strongest enemy of Palestine, instead of carrying the great bulk of the Latin forces to the point where the kingdom of Jerusalem was menaced by immediate danger, instead of opposing their arms to a monarch actually at war with them, the Christian leaders—shackled by the Count of Flanders, who, against their expressed opinion, insisted upon marching into the territory of a prince with whom they were at peace—had directed their efforts to a quarter where no peril existed, had undertaken an enterprise where little or nothing was to be gained, and deprived the kingdom of Jerusalem of its best troops at the moment when they were most needed, and had left the Arabian frontier exposed to the most powerful and active enemy which the young kingdom had ever encountered.

To suppose that Saladin would not seize the opportunity, was to suppose him deprived of his senses. He knew that the districts of Gaza and Ascalon, and even Jerusalem itself, were almost destitute of troops; he knew that the bulk of the Christian force was occupied at a distance of several hundred miles from the southern frontier; he knew that the talented, but suffering, monarch of the Latin kingdom was lying ill of a distressing and fatal disease; and that Humphrey de Thoron, the constable of the kingdom, was himself upon a bed of sickness. The redoubtable Knights of the Temple and the Hospital, except a few of the former order, who remained to defend the town of Gaza, were wasting their time before Harem, and the way to the enemy's capital seemed at once open before him.

Without delay or hesitation, then, the sultan called all his forces together, bringing more men into the field, and taking greater precaution for their equipment and provision than he had ever done before; and, crossing the desert by forced-marches, he reached the ancient town of Laris, where he left a part of his baggage, and a small body of his troops. Eager to make the most rapid progress possible, and confident of success, he did not pause to attack the towns on his way, as

was then customary, but passing by Daroun, and leaving even the strong fortress of Gaza unbesieged, he hurried forward towards Ascalon.

The news of his coming, however, had reached Baldwin before the sultan himself arrived at the latter city; and the suffering monarch, suddenly called upon to display the strong qualities of his mind, forgot the infirmities of his body, summoned his knights to join him, and, with what scanty forces he could collect, marched to meet the enemy. Fixing his head-quarters at Ascalon, the King of Jerusalem endeavoured to increase his forces by all the means in his power, but the rapid approach of Saladin left him no time, and before he had been many days in that city, the innumerable forces of the sultan appeared in the neighbourhood. Nothing daunted, Baldwin issued forth from the walls of Ascalon, leaving no more men in the city than were absolutely necessary for its defence. But having reconnoitred the army of the enemy, it was soon found hopeless to attack it, and choosing a strong position, where the deficiency of force might be in some degree remedied by the strength of the ground, the King of Jerusalem waited for Saladin to begin the fight during the whole of the day.

That wary monarch, however, cautious as well as energetic, hesitated to engage Baldwin in the position he had assumed. Numerous single combats, indeed, took place between the cavaliers of the two armies, but these were not suffered to draw on a general battle, and at night the King of Jerusalem retired with his forces into Ascalon. Saladin now suffered himself to be deceived: the small number of men whom he had seen with Baldwin, the immense superiority of his own army, the terror which he perceived his invasion had caused, all induced him to believe that Jerusalem itself would be an easy prey; and without the slightest fear of his retreat being cut off by the insignificant body of men under the Latin king, he marched forward, leaving Ascalon unattacked, as he had done in the case of Daroun and Gaza.

According to the accounts of the Christian historians, the sultan was accompanied at this time by twenty-five thousand horsemen; of which number eight thousand were chosen troops of cavalry, and one thousand were Mamelukes of his own guard, bearing saffron-coloured tunics of silk over their

armour, which was also the dress of Saladin himself. Besides the twenty-five thousand we have mentioned, was an immense number of irregular troops, camel-drivers, and camp-followers; so that his line of march between the mountains and the sea swept the whole country, which was filled with consternation and despair. Ramla and Lydda were nearly deserted before his approach; and the people of Jerusalem itself, abandoning the walls which had stood so many sieges, crowded into the tower of David, as the only sure place of refuge.

Spreading out his light horsemen over the face of the land, and sending on numerous troops before him, the sultan advanced as far as Ramla without meeting an enemy capable of delaying his progress for an hour. But the King of Jerusalem had not been inactive. He had been joined by a part of the inhabitants of Ramla, on their abandonment of that city, and the Knights of the Temple, leaving Gaza to its fate, hastened to bring their undaunted courage and military skill to the succour of the gallant, but unhappy monarch. Even with these reinforcements, we are assured by the Bishop of Tyre, on whose account we can perfectly rely, that Baldwin could only bring into the field three hundred and seventy-five knights. What was the number of foot soldiers and inferior horsemen we do not know. The usual proportion, in those days, was about twelve men to a knight, but in this instance it was probably greater, as it would seem the troops which joined the king from Ramla, and other neighbouring towns, were principally composed of infantry. His army, however, was still infinitely inferior to that of Saladin; but, nevertheless, he once more issued forth from Ascalon, and following the sea coast to conceal his march from the enemy, he outstripped the sultan, and reached Ramla before him, though that city had been already sacked and burnt by Saladin's advanced guard under an Armenian of the name of Ivelin.

The two armies came into presence at about eight o'clock in the morning, at a moment when neither expected it, and when a great portion of the Mahommedan forces were absent, having been detached in various directions. Saladin, also, at the time when the Christians first appeared, was engaged in passing the river which flows down to Ramla, and a part of his troops had actually crossed. Taken by surprise, and

finding that the enemy was advancing with the determination of attacking him, Saladin sent off messengers in haste to summon his scattered detachments to rejoin him, but lost not a moment in taking measures to put the forces he had with him into as favourable a position as possible for receiving the charge of the Christians.

Baldwin, however, gave him no time to strengthen himself or to make his dispositions. The Christian knights were well aware that, although the army before them possessed a superiority apparently overwhelming, its numbers might be tripled if any delay took place; and animated with the desire of vengeance for the rapine and devastation of which he had witnessed terrible traces on his march, Baldwin, only pausing to prostrate himself at the foot of the true cross and implore the divine favour for his arms, gave the signal for his troops to charge, and they rushed upon the enemy still in the confusion of passing the river. A vigorous resistance was made; the nephew of Saladin, named Takieddin, displayed the utmost gallantry and skill in the defence of his uncle, and saw his own son, a youth of the greatest promise, killed in an attempt to drive back the advancing Christians.

The forces of Saladin, however, were not only embarrassed by the passage of the stream, but also by a strong wind from the north, which blew the dust of the light soil which surrounded them into their eyes. At the same time, the Christians fought with the determination of despair, and were directed in all their efforts by the king himself and Odo of St. Amand, Grand Master of the Temple. Such was the vigour and fierceness of their charge, that one of the Christian soldiers penetrated to Saladin in the midst of his Mamelukes, and had nearly changed the fortunes of the east by the early death of that great sovereign, when he himself was killed by some of the surrounding Mussulmans. It would seem, indeed, that the sultan was actually wounded, if we may judge that some expressions used by him in a letter to his brother, Touranschah, were not figurative.*

After maintaining the combat for some time, the Mahomedan forces gave way in every quarter, and a terrible slaughter ensued. In vain Saladin attempted to cover the retreat of his army, and save it from total dispersion. Seized

* Ibin-alatir.

with terror at their unexpected defeat, the Mussulmans were scattered abroad in confusion and disarray; nearly all the thousand Mamelukes who formed the body-guard of the sultan were slain, and he himself, almost alone, fled from the fatal field of Ramla, and plunged into the desert.

The Christians pursued the fugitives till nightfall, continuing the slaughter over a space of more than twelve miles. The defeated Mahommedans, in their terror, fell ready victims to the enemy, casting away even their arms and their clothes in order to escape more rapidly, and leaving behind them the wounded and the weak. The pursuit was renewed on the following morning, and lasted for three more days. The inhabitants of the country resumed their courage; the various bodies which had been detached from the army of Saladin before the battle, lost all order and council, and, ignorant of the localities, exhausted by fatigue, and weakened by hunger and thirst, were despatched or made prisoners almost without resistance. At the same time, the Arabs of the neighbouring desert took base advantage of the disasters of their fellow-Mussulmans, and falling upon the stores and troops which Saladin had left at Laris, they completed that which the sword of the Christians had begun.

Baldwin returned to Ascalon; and, on the fourth day after the battle, which occurred on the 18th of November, the whole of the parties which he had despatched in pursuit rejoined him in that city, bringing in with them an immense number of prisoners, and a vast quantity of captured arms and other booty. During many subsequent days, bands of captives were brought in from the mountains, the forests, and the desert; and many even came and surrendered themselves voluntarily, preferring slavery itself to a painful and lingering death by cold, hunger, and thirst.

In the mean time, Saladin himself made his way across the sands towards Cairo, where, on the first intimation of his defeat, those whom he had left in authority had, with the policy usually displayed by France, spread the rumour of a great victory.* The sultan suffered severely on his journey, from the want both of food and water, and felt bitterly the severe blow that he had received. But far from allowing it to depress his mind or diminish his exertions, he only found

* Emadeddin; he was an eye-witness.

therein a new incentive to fresh efforts against the Christians. It was long, however, ere he could so far recruit his forces as to undertake any great expedition; and in the mean time, the victory they had obtained seemed not only to have given new courage to the Christians, but, by the effect of the mind upon the body, to have renovated the corporeal powers of Baldwin himself. The walls of the city of Jerusalem, which had been suffered to fall into decay, were now repaired; and in the following year the king undertook to construct a strong fortress upon the river Jordan, at a spot which is called the Ford of Jacob.

His object, according to the Christian account, was to restrain the incursions of the wandering bands from the territory of Damascus, which often penetrated into the lands of the Franks, plundering and destroying wherever they came. The Arabian writers, however, assert that the design of Baldwin and the Knights of the Temple—by whom, it would appear, the construction of the fort had been first suggested—was rather to cover a system of aggressive warfare against the Mahomedan states, than for self-defence.

The labours went on vigorously for some months; the situation was favourable, and the undertaking undoubtedly important, as the position of the fortress commanded one of the best passages of the river at the distance of about ten miles from Paneas, or Cæsarea Philippi, and it thus greatly strengthened the frontier on the side of Damascus. Six months were employed in erecting it; but while the works were still going on, the King of Jerusalem met with a check, not so severe, it would appear, as that which had befallen Saladin, but certainly more disastrous than the Christian writers would lead us to believe. According to the Arabian account, Baldwin had entered the Damascene territory in the spring of the year 1179, and had committed great ravages in his course, when he was suddenly met by Ferokhschah, one of Saladin's nephews, who defeated the Christians with great slaughter. Certain it is, even from the account of William of Tyre, who speaks of the event as a mere skirmish, that, whatever was the number of troops engaged, the Franks were totally defeated, that the king himself was in great danger of being taken or killed, and that several of the most distinguished leaders of Palestine were slain. The constable,

Humphrey of Thoron, himself, famous for his personal strength and courage, was mortally wounded in defending his sovereign ; and, after lingering for ten days, died on the 22nd of April, leaving behind him few so disinterested, so politic, and so brave.*

Some of his acts were blamed at the time, and some appear undoubtedly to have been weak ; but he was universally regretted by his contemporaries ; and after his death a great and disastrous change came over the affairs of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The person who now seemed most powerfully to influence the military operations of Baldwin was Odo, of St. Amand, Grand Master of the Temple, a man undoubtedly skilful in war, but who, if we are to believe William of Tyre, was of a perverse, proud, and arrogant disposition, and neither loved nor respected by any one.

Elated by the victory which his nephew had achieved, the sultan advanced from the side of Damascus, to which city he had returned some time before, and attacked the newly-erected fort at Jacob's Ford, but was repulsed with considerable loss. He then, it would appear, entered into negotiations with the Templars, who had been entrusted with its defence, and offered first sixty thousand, and then a hundred thousand pieces of gold, if they would cause it to be destroyed. The offer was indignantly refused ; but the very fact that it was made shows that the Templars had established a reputation for covetousness even amongst the infidels. Unable to reduce the place, the sultan then advanced into the territory of Sidon, and pitching his camp between the walls of Cæsarea Philippi and the neighbouring river, he detached several large bodies of his horsemen to ravage the country round. Flame and the sword were carried far and near ; but the forces of Jerusalem, having somewhat recovered from the panic caused by their late disaster, were gathered together by Baldwin, the Count of Tripoli, and the Grand Master of the Temple, and hastened, by forced marches, towards the scene of the invasion.

Unwilling, apparently, to attack Saladin in his camp before the arrival of some bodies of infantry, which were unable to keep up with the rapid advance of the men-at-arms, the

* William of Tyre places this battle in the year 1178 ; but the Arabians, as I have said, in the following year.

monarch and his knights, with their mounted followers, descended the side of Libanus from the village of Mesaphar, to a place called Mergium, and prepared to cut off the detachments of Saladin as they returned to his camp.

The sultan, in the mean time, having learned that the Christians were approaching with greater forces than he had imagined they could collect, sent messengers to recal his troops in haste. But the position which his adversaries occupied was so well chosen for the object they had in view, that the principal corps of the Mussulmans who had been ravaging the country of Sidon was forced to pass before them, exposing its flank to their attack. The opportunity was not lost, and the Mahommedan cavalry was charged and routed with great slaughter.

The fugitives were pursued without order or caution; and the generals of the victorious force seem to have left their troops to scatter themselves abroad in search of booty, while they themselves gave way to unjustifiable exultation, and a feeling of security which was very far from being real. In the mean while, Saladin was marching to the support of his detachments, and meeting the flying troops, he rallied, and brought them back with him to the battle. The Christians were now taken quite unprepared; and though the Grand Master of the Temple and the Count of Tripoli made a short stand upon a hill which they occupied with a small body of cavalry, they were soon routed by the superior force of the sultan, and a complete and disastrous dispersion of the Christian army was effected. A part of Baldwin's host took refuge in Sidon, and he himself made his escape with difficulty from the battle. The Count of Tripoli also fled to Tyre, accompanied by a few of his own soldiery, but immense numbers were slain or taken prisoners, and amongst the latter were the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital, with Baldwin of Ramla, one of the most distinguished knights of Palestine. The principal fruit of this victory was the fortress which the Christians had erected at the Ford of Jacob, which was reduced by Saladin without difficulty, and immediately rased to the ground.

Consternation spread throughout Palestine, and had not some succour arrived from Europe about the same time, it is probable that the kingdom of Jerusalem would have, even

then, been subjugated by the victorious arms of the sultan. But while these disasters were taking place in Syria, the Count of Troyes, and several other great vassals of the crown of France, were traversing the sea with a considerable body of troops to aid the unfortunate King of Jerusalem in his wars. They found the whole realm in a state of terror and confusion, and the appearance of Boemond, Prince of Antioch, at the head of a large force within the territories of Baldwin, instead of giving hope and comfort to the monarch, added new apprehensions to those which he already entertained; for he was well aware of the fragile hold he had upon the faith of his ambitious relations, and knew that, while the leprosy from which he suffered was daily making frightful ravages in his body, and destroying his corporeal powers, the nobles by whom he was surrounded were looking eagerly for the time when his death, or complete decay, would leave the crown of Jerusalem a prize to the artful or the strong. The arrival of the Prince of Antioch at Jerusalem proved more disastrous to the Christian dominion in Palestine than the conquering arms of Saladin; for it hurried on Baldwin to take that step which ultimately proved the ruin of his kingdom.

There was at that time residing in the Holy Land a nobleman belonging to a family of Poictou, celebrated for its turbulence and its violence, vices from which weakness is almost inseparable. His name was Guy of Lusignan, and the first proofs which he had given of possessing the hereditary qualities of his house was the murder of the Earl of Salisbury, in the year 1168, in which act, although it is proved that he was joined with various members of his own family, there can be no doubt he bore the principal share. Driven out of Poictou by the vengeance of Henry II., the murderer took refuge in the Holy Land, and on him the King of Jerusalem now bestowed the hand of his sister in a moment of rash haste, influenced, it would appear, more by the inclinations of Sybilla herself than by any considerations of policy or right. No mighty alliances were gained, no accession of military strength could be acquired, by the union of the monarch's sister with the fugitive homicide. The prelates and nobles of Jerusalem seem to have been taken by surprise, and thunderstruck by the monarch's determination; and William of Tyre declares that he could have found plenty of

noble gentlemen in the kingdom much more suitable, in every respect, to become the husband of his sister than Guy of Lusignan. Such, however, was the haste with which the marriage was concluded, that no time was allowed for remonstrance; and, contrary to all the usages of those days, the ceremony was celebrated during the solemnities of Easter, much to the scandal of the devout men of Palestine.

The disasters of the kingdom of Jerusalem seemed now approaching their height. Boemon, Prince of Antioch, was retiring in disgust; the Count of Tripoli viewed the proceedings of the king with a cold and indignant eye; the Grand Master of the Templars was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy; the mother of the king, a weak and violent woman, ruled his councils during the frequent attacks of illness which from time to time incapacitated him for business; his sister was married to a powerless, incapable, and intemperate man; the Christian troops were scattered over the country, disunion reigned throughout the land, and Saladin, with a numerous army, was actually encamped in the territory of Palestine, carrying pillage and destruction through the whole of the Paneade, while a fleet of Egyptian galleys was approaching the coast, with the intention of attacking Berytes. Accidental circumstances, however, occurred to delay the final catastrophe. A succession of dry seasons, during which scarcely a drop of rain had fallen, had so dried up the territories of Damascus, that no forage was to be found for the support of the sultan's cavalry, and at the same time rumours of an immense fleet and army being in preparation on the coast of Sicily for the purpose of invading Egypt, reached the ears of Saladin, and disposed him to listen to proposals for a truce.

Messengers were sent to him by the King of Jerusalem for the purpose of negotiating; and a suspension of arms by sea and land was agreed upon; in the arrangement of which, it would seem, Baldwin, either with or without the concurrence of the Count of Tripoli, neglected to include the territories of that prince. The result was, that as soon as the treaty was signed, Saladin removed, with his whole force, into the county of Tripoli; and while the count, his barons, and the Knights of the Temple and Hospital, remained shut

up in their castles and strong places, the whole of the open country was ravaged by the Syrian horsemen.

Shortly after, the Egyptian fleet presented itself before Berytes, but, learning that a truce had been concluded between the sultan and the King of Jerusalem, the chiefs of the expedition abstained from any violence, and sailed for Antarados, or Tortosa, in the county of Tripoli, where they committed some ravages; but Saladin having about the same time concluded a separate treaty with the count, his fleet was ordered to retire, and he himself retreated, in order to settle the internal affairs of Syria before he once more turned his steps towards Egypt.

An interval of peace succeeded; but, far from that period of repose being employed by the Christians of Palestine in the consolidation of their power and in preparation to resist the enemy, new dissensions spread over the land, and the symptoms of internal decay became every day more and more apparent. The disease under which the King of Jerusalem was suffering produced not only weakness of resolution, but great irritation of temper; and jealousy and suspicion not unnaturally followed the consciousness of decaying powers. At the same time, the vices of one of the princes of the land, and the rash and violent interference of the clergy, brought about new evils, and utterly precluded the wiser and more disinterested nobles of Palestine from deriving those advantages for their country from the existence of peace, which they would doubtless have striven to obtain under other circumstances.

Boemond, Prince of Antioch, who, after the death of his first wife, had married the niece of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, had been for some time carrying on an intrigue with a beautiful woman of the name of Sybilla; and after the death of the emperor, which took place on the 24th of September, 1180, he repudiated his legitimate consort, and united himself by the bonds of an illegal marriage to the concubine. The clergy accused the partner of his guilt of magic; and the Patriarch of Antioch, displaying apparently more virulence than Christian charity, commanded the prince, in the tone of a sovereign, to abandon his adulterous course and receive again the wife he had cast off. To exhort, to re-

prove, to insist on the reparation of a public scandal, might be perfectly consistent with the character and office of the patriarch; but it is impossible to read the history of those times without perceiving that in the present instance that personage proceeded with angry violence and imprudent haste to excommunication and anathema, exciting party faction in the land against its prince, and ending with the brutal and intolerable measure of interdict, a weapon not only the most tyrannical and iniquitous, but the most dangerous to herself, as well as to others, that was ever wielded by the domineering Church of Rome.*

The nobles of the principality were divided between the ecclesiastical party and that of their sovereign. The patriarch cast himself into a fortress, which belonged, we are told, to the Church, laid in a store of provisions, and collected a body of soldiery; and there he underwent a siege by the Prince of Antioch, using the temporal sword as vigorously and unscrupulously as he had done the spiritual. The whole land was in confusion; and though from time to time an incomplete and uncertain pacification took place, the important territory in which this state of discord existed seemed open to the attack of any enemy who might choose to assail it. Indeed, many apprehensions were entertained lest Boemond himself should call the arms of Saladin to aid him in opposing the authority of the patriarch and those who had confederated with him.

New views, however, were now opening before the Sultan of Egypt; and although he never abandoned his great purpose of overthrowing the kingdom of Jerusalem, and driving the Christians from the Holy Land, he suffered himself to be diverted for a time from that object by the prospect of removing the only flaw in the edifice of his power—of supplying the only link that was wanting in the chain with which he had already encircled the devoted empire of the Franks. In the midst of the fierce contentions which were raging in Antioch, and while Saladin himself was preparing to take up arms again against the kingdom of Jerusalem, Malek Saleh, son of Nouredin, and sovereign of Aleppo, died at the age of nineteen years, on the 4th of December, 1181. This prince, although it would appear he had treated upon several

* See William of Tyre, lib. xxii.

occasions with the Christians, was a devout and pious follower of Mahommed;* but, nevertheless, as may be supposed, he viewed with an eye of hatred and jealousy the ambitious soldier who had stripped him of the territories of his father; and in order at once to place the dominions which had been left under his rule in the hands of a true disciple of the prophet after his own death, and to guard them from the encroaching grasp of Saladin, he named for his successor his cousin, Ezzeddin Massoud, Emir of Moussoul, the most powerful and wealthy prince remaining of the family of Zengui.

When the news of Malek Saleh's death and will reached Saladin, who was still in Egypt, he was deeply mortified at the disposition which had been made regarding his territories, fearing that the power and influence of Ezzeddin might reduce him to the necessity of either abandoning his views upon Aleppo, or of entering into a long and difficult war with a prince of his own faith, and thus giving to the Christians of Palestine time to forget their discords, and to recruit their forces. His designs, however, were favoured by unexpected circumstances. A new claimant to the principality of Aleppo started up in the person of a brother of the Prince of Mous-soul, named Emadeddin, Emir of Singar, who, after some threats and negotiations, induced Ezzeddin to resign his pretensions to the succession of Malek Saleh, receiving the town of Singar in exchange.

Powerless and unsupported, Emadeddin could oppose no effectual resistance to the forces of the Sultan of Egypt, and Saladin instantly prepared to take advantage of his weakness. In the first instance, however, he thought fit to write to the Khalif of Bagdad, in order to obtain the authority of the Mussulman pontiff for the usurpation which he was about to commit; and it would seem that, while waiting for his reply, he proceeded to give a new proof of zeal for the Mahommedan faith, by attacking the territories of the Christians as he led his forces forward towards fresh conquests in Syria. A pretext for breaking the truce was not wanting. The famous Renault de Chatillon had, in consequence of his marriage, become Lord of Carac, a town and district situated to the extreme south of the kingdom of Jerusalem, between the Dead Sea

* Kemaleddin.

and Arabia Petrea; and whether from some private and sudden quarrel with the Arabs in his vicinity, or from the movements of his restless, military spirit, he had entered into hostilities with his neighbours of the desert, and had captured many of them, whom he refused to give up, when summoned to do so in virtue of the truce.

About the same period, a large vessel, containing a multitude of Christian pilgrims, was driven on shore, apparently without much injury, on the coast of Egypt.* The pilgrims pleaded the truce, and demanded permission to pass through Egypt on their way to Jerusalem; but Saladin cast them into prison, and detained them as hostages for the reparation of the wrongs which he pretended to have suffered. Messengers were despatched by the sultan to Jerusalem to treat with Baldwin in regard to the misunderstandings which had arisen; and William of Tyre assures us that in all these transactions Saladin was only seeking a pretext for renewing the war. But even by the good prelate's own account, it would seem that the sultan had just cause for offence, and we only further know that he proceeded at once to take vengeance for the injuries he complained of, real or supposed.

During the years 1181 and 1182 the drought and famine which reigned throughout a great part of Syria had driven large bodies of the Mahommedan population into Egypt, where the seasons had been more favourable; and Saladin found that he had larger forces at his disposal than he had ever before brought into the field. On the other hand, Baldwin, weakened in mind as well as in body, by the disease under which he laboured, had contrived to alienate from his councils the most experienced and skilful politician and soldier who yet remained for the defence of the Holy Land. The Count of Tripoli had now for nearly two years been occupied within the boundaries of his own dominions, taking advantage of the interval of peace to put himself in a state of defence against renewal of the war. The count, however, held in right of his wife the town and territory of Tiberiad, within the limits of the actual kingdom of Jerusalem, and after terminating the affairs which detained him at Tripoli, he advanced towards the lake of Tiberias, never doubting, apparently, the friendly disposition of the king. Neverthe-

* William of Tyre, lib. xii.

less, Baldwin, who had now fallen entirely into the hands of his mother and uncle, both of whom feared the approach of so wise and powerful a prince as the Count of Tripoli, was induced to send messengers, commanding him to retire from the frontiers of his dominions; and the count, with natural feelings of indignation and anger, re-trod his steps to his own territories. The councils of Baldwin, however, were soon changed. More discreet and disinterested persons represented to him the danger of irritating his powerful vassal, and depriving the throne of Jerusalem of the valiant arm which had been raised so often in its defence. Negotiations were entered into; and the Count of Tripoli, suffering himself to be appeased, re-entered the kingdom, and consulted with the monarch and the rest of the nobles in regard to the best means of meeting the impending storm which was approaching from the side of Egypt.

His advice, however, though sought, was not followed; and instead of encountering the enemy in a strong position on the frontier, at the moment when the Mussulman troops were exhausted by a long march through the desert, according to the plan proposed by the Count of Tripoli, Baldwin suffered Saladin to enter his very territories, and refresh himself amongst the streams and pastures of Palestine. The once active and energetic warriors of the cross remained in idleness at the distance of thirty miles from the camp of the sultan, while the rest of the kingdom, left exposed and defenceless, was overrun by the troops of Syria and Mesopotamia. Consternation and even indifference seemed to have taken complete possession of the Christian princes, and Saladin was not only suffered to give his forces provisions and repose, but even to ravage the country, and pursue his march to Damascus unmolested.

While negotiating with the independent princes of Mesopotamia, in order to prepare the way for the further conquests which he meditated, the sultan again entered Palestine; and, after suffering one check, in which we are assured he lost a thousand men, and retreated in confusion, he once more advanced, and laid siege to Berytes, in conjunction with a fleet which had been despatched from Egypt to co-operate with the Mussulman army in the attack upon that place.*

* The Arabian writers say that his fleet never arrived; but William of Tyre,

Baldwin, now roused by the imminent danger which threatened him, marched at once to the deliverance of Berytes, only pausing for a short time at Tyre to make preparation for carrying on the war by sea as well as by land. With a degree of rapidity which astonished the inhabitants of Palestine, who for many years had seen nothing but careless inactivity, thirty-three galleys, well armed and manned, were collected in the ports of Acre and Tyre, and in eight days were ready to put to sea. The approach of this formidable armament, and the march of the King of Jerusalem, showed the Mussulman monarch that he must abandon the hope of capturing Berytes at a blow; and, after having continued the attack for several days, he retired once more into the territory of Damascus, and prepared to carry on those more important operations which he regarded but as preliminaries to the complete subjugation of Palestine.

Notwithstanding the success of his schemes and the progress of his arms, the sultan was at this moment in a situation of considerable peril, which would, in all probability, have ended in his destruction, had there been anything like vigour left in the kingdom of Jerusalem. His Syrian territories were now placed between two inimical countries, each naturally powerful, and only rendered feeble by accidental circumstances. On the one side were his ancient and inveterate enemies, the Christians; and, on the other, was Ezzeddin, the Prince of Moussoul, possessing large and populous dominions, many strong cities, great wealth, and a numerous army. Ezzeddin had now learned that Saladin meditated his destruction, and not long before he had entered into a treaty with the Franks of Palestine, by which he bound himself to pay annually during twelve years a sum of ten thousand pieces of gold, and to give them aid in recovering the towns and districts which they had lately lost, and opposing the progress of the Egyptian sultan upon the eastern side of Libanus.* The Christians on their part engaged to attack Saladin at all points, and thus, if possible, to divert his efforts from Moussoul. But their internal dissensions,

who was an eye-witness to the events, declares that a fleet of thirty vessels anchored off Berytes a few days after the sultan appeared upon the land side of that city.

* Abou-schame.

the weakness to which they were reduced, the daily decay of the king, and probably, also, the illness of the Count of Tripoli, who, about this time, was seized with one of the fevers of the country, prevented them from executing their part of the contract; and the sultan was left for many months to pursue his ambitious projects against his fellow-Mussulmans uninterrupted.

One, indeed, of the Frankish nobles planned an expedition which we shall have to mention hereafter, and which, had it proved successful, would have strangely changed the aspect of affairs in the east. A plundering incursion was made into the territory of Damascus, and a fort was taken on the side of Libanus; but I can find no record of any other enterprise of importance undertaken by the Christians to divert Saladin from the efforts which he now directed against the Prince of Moussoul. The resistance offered to the sultan's progress was at first poor and inefficient. Leaving Harem and Aleppo behind him unattacked, he advanced rapidly upon Edessa, Amida, and Singar, which fell before him one after another, after very little opposition. He then turned his arms against Moussoul itself, but here a better defence was made; and after having besieged this city for some time, he was obliged to retire unsuccessful.

Re-crossing the Euphrates, Saladin now proceeded to attack Aleppo, of which city Emadeddin had taken possession. The place was filled with a race of warlike and determined men, to whom the memory of Noureddin was especially dear, and in whose sight Saladin himself was an ungrateful usurper, so that everything promised the most determined resistance; but the weak prince who had obtained the sovereignty of Aleppo in opposition to the will of Malek Saleh, was seized with alarm at the mere renown of Saladin; and, entering into a secret treaty with the sultan, gave up the territory after a futile effort to defend it, and received in exchange the towns of Singar and Nisiba. The people of Aleppo viewed his conduct with contempt, and passed under the rule of Saladin with loud and scornful reproaches against their former sovereign.*

After this success, in order to leave no point of danger behind him in the new attack which he meditated upon

* Kemaleddip.

Moussoul, Saladin proceeded to besiege Harem. The Mussulman leader who commanded in the place not only prepared to resist vigorously, but threatened to call in the Christians of Palestine to his aid, if the sultan did not desist from his enterprise. The garrison, however, either terrified at the arms of Saladin, or indignant at the governor's threat of treating with the enemies of their faith, made their leader prisoner, and surrendered the city to the sultan, thus putting him in possession of that which he seems to have constantly aimed at, an uninterrupted extent of dominion, shutting in the Christians between his own territories and the sea, without the interposition of any independent state which might thwart his views or impede his movements.

He had now under his sole command the whole country on the east of the kingdom of Jerusalem, from Mount Taurus to Arabia, skirting along Libanus, and comprising a part of Mesopotamia. To the south and west he ruled over Arabia Felix, Egypt, and Nubia; his galleys swept the sea-coast; and if a claim could be laid to the desert by any party, it was undoubtedly to him that it owed obedience. The circle of his power was now drawn close round the devoted kingdom of Jerusalem, which lay within its mountains like a besieged fortress, hemmed in on every side by adverse armies.

Nevertheless, Saladin still did not feel himself secure so long as the powerful Prince of Moussoul remained subdued; and there can be no doubt that he would have turned his arms immediately against Ezzeddin had not passion interfered, and revenge for a moment called him in another direction. Towards the end of 1182, an appearance of greater activity had manifested itself amongst the Franks of Palestine. The Count of Tripoli had recovered from the fever which had attacked him during the year before. Baldwin roused himself to his last efforts against the enemy; and two invasions of the territory of Damascus took place, in which great ravages were committed, but no important successes obtained, except the recovery of a fort which had been captured some time before by the troops of Saladin. These events, however, would probably not have disturbed the sultan in his proceedings; but some time previous an act had been committed by the famous Renault de Chatillon

which touched Saladin in the most tender part, and by rousing all the fanatic within him, had excited an enmity that could only be quenched in blood.

We have already said that Renault de Chatillon had succeeded, in right of his wife, to the town and territory of Carac, formerly called the Stone of the Desert, one of the extreme points of the kingdom of Jerusalem, towards Arabia Petrea. During the absence of Saladin, his active and enterprising mind conceived the project of opening a communication between Palestine and the Red Sea, by seizing upon the small town of Ela, situated on its shores; and, nothing daunted by the difficulties of the undertaking, he caused a number of boats to be carried across the desert on the backs of camels,* and launched in the Bay of Ælana. The siege of Ela was immediately commenced; but as Renault de Chatillon had a considerable force at his command, consisting not only of three hundred choice soldiers from Palestine, but of a large body of converted Arabs,† he directed plundering expeditions to be pushed along the shores of the Red Sea, and even embraced the daring resolution of attacking Mecca and Medina, with the intention of carrying off the body of Mahommed from his tomb. Nor was success improbable; for the Mussulmans on the coast were taken by surprise, and fled in every direction before the invaders, who swept the country of a rich booty, and arrived within one day's journey of Medina before they met with any interruption.

Ela itself had made a determined resistance; and news of this unexpected attack was soon carried to Malek-adel, the brother of Saladin, who had been left in charge of the sultan's Egyptian dominions. Equipping in haste an overpowering fleet upon the western shore of the Red Sea, Malek-adel despatched it to the Asiatic side, under the command of an experienced officer, named Hossaneddin, called also Loulou, who with great promptitude and vigour sailed at once for Ela, and forced the Christians to raise the siege of that city. He then pursued the detachment which had descended the Arabian Gulf, overtook it at the moment when Medina seemed actually within its grasp, and attacking the unfortunate Christians with vastly superior numbers, drove them

* Ibn-alatir.

† Mogreddin.

into the mountains, slaughtering them in all directions. Some few indeed were made prisoners, but their fate proved worse than if they had fallen at once under the hand of the enemy. They were only reserved, we find, to be put to death, by the express order of Saladin,* at an after period, some offered as sacrifices instead of sheep before the Kaaba at Mecca, and others devoutly butchered by the Mussulman doctors of Grand Cairo.

Renault of Chatillon, with but few followers, made his escape to Carac; but the daring impiety which he had meditated rankled for years in the breast of Saladin, and at the time excited such a thirst for vengeance, that immediately after the surrender of Harem, the sultan, though not without some hesitation, turned his arms against Carac, instead of leading his troops once more to the attack of Moussoul.

Every day had added to the power and dominions of Saladin; and the princes of the Latin kingdom had viewed his progress with terror and dismay. Necessity at length compelled them to lay aside their dissensions for a time, and when they now saw their great enemy pausing at Damascus, as if hesitating which way he should turn his arms, each man forgot his private grievances and projects, and hastened, with what forces he could collect, to the defence of the state.

By this time, however, the state of the unhappy Baldwin had become such, that though he still clung to power, he was evidently incapable of government. He was blind, impotent, lame, with his extremities in a state of putrefaction, and his whole body eaten up with a loathsome disease.† Nevertheless, he laboured earnestly to conceal the ravages of the fatal malady, continued to display his royal state, and would not suffer the sceptre to fall from his powerless hand till, in the beginning of 1183, a fever was added to his other ills at the very time when Saladin, at the head of an immense force, was on the point of entering his dominions; and, in a moment of haste and weakness, he named Guy of Lusignan regent of the kingdom, reserving to himself the city of Jerusalem, and a sufficient income to maintain the royal dignity.

Instant dissensions ensued. None but those who were personally attached to the new regent, or who had been cor-

* Abou-schame, who gives the sultan's letter.

† William of Tyre, lib. xxii.

rupted by his promises, even affected to approve this important act on the part of the king. Every one saw and felt that the man whom he had chosen to guide the civil and military affairs of the kingdom at the moment of imminent peril, was not only vain and insolent, but weak, worthless, and incapable; and although the various princes who had brought their troops to the place of muster at the summons of the king did not actually withdraw from the camp, it was not to be expected that either union or energy should be displayed by an army directed by such a feeble general, and led by such discontented chiefs.

Had such not been the case, and had any of the experienced warriors of the Holy Land been entrusted with the command of the forces assembled at the Seforitan fountain, there can be little doubt that great temporary advantages might have been gained, even if a more fortunate turn had not been given for ever to the military affairs of Palestine. Extraordinary danger had produced extraordinary exertion, and the army was the strongest which had been collected in the Holy Land during the last fifty years. Thirteen hundred knights, and more than fifteen thousand foot, all completely armed, and led by the most distinguished nobles of the country, were there assembled for the defence of their homes and of their hearths; and means had been taken not only to furnish this force with supplies for the time being, but also to provide resources for the future in a manner which is well worthy of more particular notice.

In moments of great and pressing difficulty the same measures generally present themselves to all states, however different may be their habits and customs at other periods; and things that strike us as novelties, produced by the exigencies of our own situation, will often be found upon the page of history, adopted by men under similar circumstances in various remote ages. At a general assembly of the nobles and people of the kingdom of Jerusalem, with the consent and approbation of the king, it was determined, in the imminent necessity of the time, to have recourse to a property and income tax.* Assessors were appointed to estimate the

* In reading the preamble of the document preserved to us of William of Tyre, we could almost fancy that we were perusing the commencement of a British act of parliament. The following are the terms in which it begins:—"Hæc est forma

property and income of each person in the realm; measures were taken to insure individuals against surcharge and afford them the power of appeal; the assessors were bound by oath not to reveal the secrets of any man's fortune, which they might discover in the execution of their duty; and the lower class were in some degree protected against the pressure of the tax. The impost was fixed at one per cent. upon property, and two per cent. upon income derived from ordinary revenues,* while those who laboured for their bread, and whose income was derived from pay or salary, were with justice imposed only to half the amount, though they were not absolutely exempted from bearing a share in the burdens of the state.

Jerusalem was thus in a better condition for defence than she had been for many years, and when Saladin at length entered the territory, and spreading his troops abroad, commenced as usual by ravaging the country round, every one expected to see the days of the victory of Ramla renewed, and the invader driven back in confusion to his own land. Such hopes were disappointed, however; the sultan marched on by the lake of Tiberias, passed through Galilee, and encamped at the foot of Mount Gilboa, by the side of the ancient town of Jezrael, in the neighbourhood of the fountain of Tubenia. The forces of Jerusalem then quitted their position, and traversing the mountains of Nazareth, approached the camp of the enemy. On their appearance, Saladin removed a short distance from the fountain; but still keeping near the river, which supplied his troops with water, he took up a strong position amongst the rocks, whence he could maintain his communication with the detachments which he had sent forth to pillage the adjacent country.

The army of the Franks encamped near the fountain itself, and during eight days remained in perfect inactivity; the experienced leaders seeing "with indignation," to use the words of William of Tyre, "that in the midst of such great perils, and the pressure of such necessity, interests so im-

colligendi census, qui de communi omnium principum, tam ecclesiasticorum, quam secularium, et de assensu universæ plebis regni Hierosolymorum, pro communi utilitate ejusdem Regni, contra imminentes necessitates, colligi debet."

* This included all revenues of landed proprietors, monasteries, churches, &c.

portant had been committed to a man unknown, indiscreet, and incapable."

It would appear, however, that the army of the sultan was still superior in number to that of his opponents; that the position which he had taken up added great advantages, and that the principal detachments which had left his army could be easily recalled in a moment of danger. Both hosts seem in some degree to have dreaded the encounter, and though there can be no doubt that in former times the chivalrous spirit of the crusader would have induced him to attack a much larger force than that which Saladin now commanded, under even more disadvantageous circumstances; yet, on the present occasion, the troops of the sultan were allowed to retire, without an effort being made to give them battle, after having boldly remained for eight days within one mile of the Christian camp.

What were the motives which induced Saladin himself to retreat towards Damascus we do not know, for the Arabian historians pass over this expedition with but little, if any notice. Nevertheless, it is clear that he was determined upon taking signal vengeance for the invasion of the holy places of his faith by the Lord of Carac. A letter written by him at this time to Malek-adel, breathes nothing but rage and fury against the Franks. "The infidels," he says, "have violated the cradle and the refuge of Islamism; they have profaned our sanctuary; they have polluted it with their looks;" and he exhorts his brother, in the most sanguinary terms, to show no mercy towards those who have committed such an offence.

Scarcely had he quitted the territory of Jerusalem, however, ere he re-appeared at another point with as large an army as before, supplied on this occasion with the cumbrous military machines which were in those days necessary for carrying on the siege of a fortified city. Passing through the land of the children of Ammon, and through Moab, he approached with rapid marches the town of Carac, and it soon became evident to all that the siege of that place was the object of his expedition.

But a great change had by this time come over the councils of Jerusalem. Baldwin had somewhat recovered from the

fever which had attacked him in Nazareth, and convinced by the events of the last campaign that Guy of Lusignan was utterly incapable of governing the kingdom, he listened to the representations of his most experienced nobles, withdrew from him the regency; and, declaring the young Baldwin, his sister's son by her first husband, William of Montferrat, heir to the throne, he required all the nobles of the land to take an oath of fidelity to the prince, having previously caused the child, then scarcely five years old, to be anointed, and crowned in the church of the Resurrection. Every one now looked for the appointment of a regent, as it was evident that the king himself was incapable of performing the duties of his office. All eyes also turned towards the Count of Tripoli; but the ancient jealousy of the king towards him seems to have prevented Baldwin from taking the necessary step, for which his people were so eager; and on learning that Saladin had laid siege to Carac, the monarch himself, though his body was one mass of infirmities, determined to lead his army in person to the assistance of Renault de Chatillon; nor was it till a tedious march along the bank of the lake Asphaltites, to the town of Zoar, then called Palmer, had proved to him his incapacity for such exertions, that he requested the Count of Tripoli to take the command of the forces of Jerusalem.

In the mean while, the siege of Carac had proceeded for nearly a month. It seems doubtful whether Renault de Chatillon had cast himself into the place with the knowledge that it was about to be attacked, or that he was there accidentally, celebrating the marriage of Humphrey de Thoron, the younger, with the youngest sister of the king. Certain, however, it is that the inhabitants of Carac were in the midst of the festivities of the wedding when Saladin appeared before the walls, and that the place was full of the minstrels, buffoons, and players on musical instruments, who usually in those days flocked to the scene of all such joyous ceremonies. The citadel itself was crowded with people of every sort and condition, and we are even told that it was difficult for the men-at-arms to move about the ramparts for the defence of the place, on account of the multitudes which thronged together in every part of the building. Fortunately it so happened, however, that the citadel was amply provided with

food for the numbers it contained, and Renault de Chatillon himself, one of the most celebrated knights of the time, prepared to offer a vigorous resistance. It would seem, indeed, that the arms and machines of war necessary to carry this determination into execution were wanting; and the town, situated below the castle, was very feeble in several parts of its fortifications. The Lord of Carac himself apparently committed an error in attempting to retain the suburbs, which were only strong by their position, and were speedily taken by the enemy; a body of whom had well-nigh entered the citadel itself, together with the retreating forces of the Franks. The place, however, was saved by the gallant determination of a knight named Ivenus, who for some time defended, alone, the bridge and gate against all the power of the adversary.

Night and day for more than three weeks Saladin ceased not to batter the walls of Carac with immense blocks of stone, thrown from eight catapults, with a degree of precision and accuracy which seems to have astonished the Christians. Not a man could show himself upon the ramparts without becoming a mark for the arrows and other missiles of the Mussulmans; and so exact was their aim that the soldiers dared not even look through the loopholes, for fear of meeting death from the unerring bows of the enemy.

The defences resisted all the efforts of the Mahommedan general, however; and at length the march of the army of Jerusalem gave notice to Saladin that he must either raise the siege, or risk a pitched battle under the walls of Carac. The Arabian and Latin historians differ greatly in regard to the events that follow. William of Tyre declares that Saladin retreated upon Damascus as soon as the Christian army appeared in his neighbourhood, and was placed under the command of the Count of Tripoli. The Mahommedan writers, on the contrary, assure us that he marched to meet the King of Jerusalem, but that the Franks took up an impregnable position, and avoided the battle which he offered them. Various particulars, however, lead me to imagine that the account of William of Tyre is the most accurate; for the Arabian authors seem to have confounded, in regard to several points, this expedition against Carac with Saladin's preceding invasion of the territory of Palestine. At the

same time, it is evident from the events which followed, that the renown of the Count of Tripoli was greatly increased by the deliverance of Carac, which could scarcely have been the case if he had refused the battle for which the Christian knights were eager, and had pursued exactly the same course which had brought so much reproach upon the army commanded by Guy of Lusignan.

Against the latter the anger of Baldwin, by private as well as by public causes, was now increased to such a pitch, that he determined, if possible, to divorce him from his sister, and to strip him of the territories which he had obtained with her. Nor did he keep this resolution secret; and the husband of Sybilla becoming acquainted with the designs against him, quitted the army privately, and returning in haste to Ascalon, urged his wife to join him at that city, or at Jaffa, both of which places they held of the crown of Jerusalem, in order that they might resist the somewhat unjust and rash determination of the king. Baldwin sent messengers to require his immediate return, but Lusignan excused himself on the plea of illness, and the king pursued him to Ascalon, at the gates of which city the monarch was refused admittance by his sister's husband, and proceeded at once to Jaffa, taking possession of that town, and placing his own officers in authority.

The patriarch, with the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between Baldwin and his brother-in-law; but they failed in effecting their object; and, after some fresh provocations had been given by Guy of Lusignan, the king made up his mind to offer the regency of the kingdom to the Count of Tripoli, with the universal consent and approbation of his whole people.*

* Here ends the history of William of Tyre, at least as it has come down to us: but I am strongly inclined to believe that the archbishop himself continued it for several years after this period, though the manuscript of the latter part might very likely be lost during the various journeys which he afterwards undertook. Bernard the Treasurer, or Hugh Plagon, whichever was the author of the well-known continuation of William of Tyre, seems to me to show indications of having borrowed considerably from some writings of the archbishop, referring to periods posterior to that at which the existing manuscript of William of Tyre ceases. This, however, is a mere conjecture; but I cannot conceive what Mr. Mills, the well-known historian of the crusades, could mean when he said, speaking of the year 1173, "My faithful chronicler, William of Tyre, now fails me;"

The count, however, showed the careful prudence of a wise man, and the thoughtful disinterestedness of a good one. While he pointed out the difficulties under which the country laboured, and the terrible responsibility which must rest upon any one assuming the reins of government at such a moment, he expressed his readiness to accept the proposal of the king upon certain conditions, calculated not less to promote the best interests of the kingdom, than to secure himself against loss and false accusation. An infant prince was heir-apparent to the throne; failing him, two collateral heiresses presented themselves, both daughters of Almeric, the father of Baldwin. The one, Sybilla, claiming in right of elder birth; the second, springing from a more legitimate union. The first wife of Almeric was Agnes de Courtenay, who had been betrothed to Hugh of Ibelin, Lord of Ramla, from whom Almeric had carried her off, and had married her, notwithstanding the vehement opposition of the Church, being then merely Count of Jaffa and of Ascalon. On his accession to the throne, however, after having had two children by her as Count of Jaffa, Almeric was forced to divorce his wife, Agnes, who united herself immediately with Hugh of Ibelin, while the king entered into a second marriage with Mary, daughter of the Sebastocrator, Isaac. By the second wife he had only Isabella, now married to the young Humphrey de Thoron. The marriage of Almeric and Agnes had been declared unlawful, not on account of the espousals of Agnes to Hugh of Ibelin, but upon pretence of relationship within the canonical degrees of prohibition. Nevertheless, at the time the sentence of divorce was pronounced, it was formally settled that the act was not to be considered as bastardising the children

for the pure and undoubted text of William of Tyre down to 1183, ten years after the period when Mr. Mills makes it cease, is given in the "*Gesta Dei per Francos*," and this is, perhaps, the most important part of that author's writings, as it refers entirely to events which he witnessed, and transactions in which he took an important share. The reign of Baldwin the Leper prepared the way for the fall of Jerusalem, and the conquest of the Holy Land, by Saladin, and therefore everything that took place under that monarch has an important bearing upon the life and actions of Richard Cœur-de-Lion. But even had such not been the case, I think I should have been tempted to enter at large into this remarkable part of the history of Palestine, as nothing deserving the name of a narrative of those transactions has been given in the English language that I know of. Mr. Mills, either from want of information or neglect, dismisses the whole history of Baldwin in less than two pages.

already born. Notwithstanding this arrangement, it was felt by everybody, as the death of Baldwin approached, that the claim of his sister Isabella to the crown of Jerusalem might not be altogether powerless against her half sister, born in what was considered both an incestuous and adulterous union before their father had ascended the throne of Jerusalem. Such being the situation of the royal family, and the infant son of Sybilla, who had been already crowned as heir-presumptive, being a delicate and sickly child, the Count of Tripoli insisted upon the following conditions, before he would accept the regency: First, that he should have no charge of the young prince, lest, in case of his death, any evil practices should be attributed to him. Next, that the principal castles and fortresses of the kingdom should be placed in the keeping of the Knights of the Temple and Hospital, that he might not be suspected of aspiring to the throne. Thirdly, that some city or territory might be assigned to him as a security for the expense of keeping up the large army which was necessary for the defence of the kingdom. Fourthly, that the government should be conferred upon him for ten years; or, in case of the death of the young king, till the Pope, the Emperor of Germany, the King of France, and the King of England should have decided between the claims of the two sisters, Sybilla and Isabella, and declared the one or the other the queen of Jerusalem.

The king and his nobles consented to these just and wise provisions. The charge of the child was committed to Jocelyn de Courtenay, the uncle of Sybilla; Berytes and its territory was made over to the Count of Tripoli as a security for all his expenses, and the infant prince was carried in the arms of Balian of Ibelin to the holy sepulchre, where he was once more crowned King of Jerusalem. This ceremony took place before the death of Baldwin, but at what particular period we cannot discover; for the events of those times are very obscure, and dates are not preserved with that degree of accuracy which enables us to arrange chronologically many of the most important events of this period.

After appointing the Count of Tripoli regent, Baldwin totally disappears from history, and we only further know that he died at the end of the year 1185, having called all the barons of his realm around him to witness the spectacle of his de-

cease. Shortly after the Count of Tripoli assumed the reins of government, but whether previously to the death of Baldwin, or subsequently, it is difficult to say, he was induced to enter into a treaty with Saladin for a suspension of arms during four years. This measure, however, was taken with the consent of the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital, and the principal nobles of the land. Nor was the motive which induced them to make peace with the infidel a light one, as an excessive drought had for many months afflicted the kingdom of Jerusalem, the rivers and the wells were dried up, and the grain which was sown gave no return. Well knowing the periodical famines by which the country had been scourged, the Count of Tripoli feared that he might be attacked by the Mahommedan forces while the armies of Palestine were disheartened and weakened by dearth, and appears to have been fully justified in seeking a truce, which he might have found great difficulty in obtaining if Saladin had not at the time been intent upon a projected expedition against the Prince of Moussoul, if not actually marching to besiege his capital city.

The Arabian writers tell us that the sultan had determined never to lay down his arms till he had subdued the whole of Mesopotamia; but an illness with which he was seized, in the midst of his exertions for that object, brought him to the brink of the grave, and, lowering the pride of success, induced him to listen to the terms of peace which Ezzeddin now proposed. The Prince of Moussoul bowed the head before the genius and power of his great competitor, and acknowledging Saladin as his sovereign, agreed to join his troops to those of the sultan whenever he might be called upon to do so.

This event took place, it would seem, towards the end of the year 1185, or the beginning of 1186; but Saladin was still bound by the treaty which he had entered into with the Count of Tripoli, and we do not find any act of aggression on his part, though no occupation in any other quarter now prevented his troops from assailing the territories of the Franks. On the contrary, we are informed that abundant provisions of all kinds were poured into the kingdom of Jerusalem from the dominions of the sultan; and the people of Palestine, profusely supplied, in the midst of the total sterility of their

own land, blessed the Count of Tripoli for his prudent foresight, and lauded his administration to the skies.

It would appear, however, that the friends of Guy of Lusignan were even now busy in calumniating the regent, and spreading abroad false and scandalous reports concerning him, both in Palestine and in Europe. Contemporary writers, who generally noted the rumours they received from day to day, declare that he administered poison to the young King Baldwin; but they combined this assertion, which we might not otherwise be able to disprove, with so many statements, evidently untrue, and contradicted by the best authorities, that we may safely reject it as unworthy of a moment's consideration, except as proving that the Count of Tripoli was systematically calumniated by his enemies. Thus William of Newbury shows himself totally ignorant of the fact that Raymond of Tripoli had refused the guardianship of the young king, who was at this time at Acre, under the especial care of Jocelyn de Courtenay, his maternal grand-uncle. The English historian places him in the immediate hands of the regent, and by misstating a matter of so much importance and notoriety, invalidates his whole testimony in regard to the other events which were taking place in the Holy Land.

It is evident from all that followed, that Sybilla, Guy of Lusignan, and those connected with them, although we have no cause to suppose that they machinated the death of the young king, watched his decaying strength with a view of providing for the future, and carried on various dark intrigues with those whose influence they thought best calculated to counterbalance the power of the regent. Jocelyn de Courtenay was naturally anxious to place his niece upon the throne, in case of the death of her son; the patriarch had long been devoted to her; the Grand Master of the Temple viewed with hatred and jealousy the authority of the Count of Tripoli; and some causes of dissension had evidently arisen between the last-named prince and the famous Renault de Chatillon, the particulars of which we do not exactly know.

The Arabian writers, however, supply several facts which may possibly throw light upon the subject. We find that the Lord of Carac, notwithstanding the existence of a truce, had been tempted by the appearance of a rich Mussulman caravan in the neighbourhood of his mountain-fortress, to plunder the

merchants or pilgrims, and even to reduce many of them to captivity. Saladin remonstrated in vain, and it is by no means impossible that the Count of Tripoli also used his authority to force the refractory noble to make restitution. At all events, it is clear that he gave him no countenance in his proceedings;* and when in September, 1186, Baldwin V. expired, Renault de Chatillon was found amongst the most enthusiastic supporters of Sybilla, and the most determined enemies of the regent.

The party of Guy of Lusignan, however, had studiously concealed their operations from the Count of Tripoli; and the moment the young king was dead, Jocelyn de Courtenay proceeded to visit the regent at Berytes, and represented to him that it would not be necessary for him to accompany the body of the deceased prince to Jerusalem, but, on the contrary, that it would be better to entrust the funeral to the Knights Templars, while he provided for the defence of the realm, which was already menaced by the gathering forces of Saladin.

The city of Tiberiad, possessed by the count, in right of his wife, was one of the most exposed points of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and likely to be attacked in the very outset of a war. The fact that Saladin threatened immediate vengeance for the breach of the truce by the Lord of Carac, and had sent messengers to every part of his dominions, summoning his troops to the approaching contest, was most likely already known to the Christians. Never doubting, it would appear, the good faith of Jocelyn de Courtenay, the Count of Tripoli, moved, probably, by the imminence of the danger, hastened to Tiberiad, while the corpse of the young king was carried to Jerusalem; and such was his confidence in the submission of all parties to the arrangement which had been entered into respecting the regency and succession, that he left Berytes undefended, and seems not to have entertained the slightest suspicion of all that was machinating against him. The

* One of the best and most impartial accounts that we have of this particular period is that of Geoffrey Vinesauf, the author of *Iter Hierosolymitanum*. He mentions the existence of the truce between Saladin and the Christians exactly in the same terms as Bernard the Treasurer, and he recounts the violation of it by Renault de Chatillon almost in the words of the Arabian historian, Ibn-alatir. By a very natural mistake, indeed, he calls Renault Prince of Antioch, in which city he had ruled as regent during the minority of Boemond.

moment, however, that the count's absence favoured the enterprise, Jocelyn seized upon the city of Acre, and thence hastening to Berytes, obtained possession of that important place by treachery. In the mean while, Sybilla, Guy of Lusignan, and the Grand Master of the Templars, with Boniface of Montferrat, the father of her first husband, who had lately taken the cross, seized upon the city of Jerusalem; and, after the funeral of Baldwin V., shut the gates against the nobles of the country, who adhered almost as a man to the Count of Tripoli and to the convention which they had sworn to maintain, at the same time sending in haste for Renault de Chatillon, of whose concurrence they were already assured.

In the mean time, thunderstruck by the tidings of these proceedings, the Count of Tripoli called all the nobles of the land to meet him at Naplouse; and we find that the only three who were wanting were Jocelyn de Courtenay, Guy of Lusignan, and Renault de Chatillon. The Masters of the Temple and Hospital were also absent, the latter being at the time in Jerusalem, though it would seem he took no part in favour of Sybilla. The whole baronage of Palestine was indignant at the violation of all the stipulations made with the Count of Tripoli; and it appears, from one of the continuations of William of Tyre, that the suspicions which had been circulated regarding the Count of Tripoli were retaliated upon Sybilla, some persons in the assembly whispering that she herself had administered poison to her son, in order to grasp the thorny crown with which he had been invested. In the midst of their deliberations, messengers arrived from Jerusalem, summoning the nobles to the coronation of the queen. An immediate refusal was given; and two abbots were deputed to warn the patriarch and the two grand masters, in the name of God and the Pope, not to proceed to the coronation of Sybilla till the question of her right should be decided by the persons to whose judgment they had sworn to refer the claims of the two sisters.

The councils of Sybilla, however, were ruled by three of the most violent and resolute men of the age. The Patriarch Heraclius was notorious for his indecent conduct, living openly with a beautiful concubine, who had obtained the

familiar appellation of the Patriarchess,* and displaying on all occasions a degree of intemperate daring which, when in England, might have brought upon him the fate of Thomas à Becket, had not Henry been previously made painfully aware of the danger of resenting the outrages of an ecclesiastic. The conduct of Renault de Chatillon is already before the reader; nor was the Grand Master of the Temple of a less decided and incautious character, as his after proceedings sufficiently evinced.

It was not to be supposed, then, that either the menaces of the Count of Tripoli and the barons of the realm, or the danger of plunging the kingdom of Jerusalem into a civil war, could have any effect in stopping the ambitious projects of Sybilla. All her counsellors determined to proceed to her coronation immediately, and the only opposition that they met with was from the Grand Master of the Hospital, who possessed one of the keys of the treasury in which the royal insignia were deposited. He resisted firmly; and even, we are told, threw the key away, lest it should be taken from him; but it was afterwards found by the patriarch, and everything was immediately prepared for the ceremony which they were about to celebrate.†

Fearing lest they might be interrupted, the faction assembled in Jerusalem caused every gate of the city to be shut and strongly guarded, preventing any one from either entering or going forth, while Sybilla proceeded to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and received one of the two crowns of the kingdom from the hands of the patriarch. The other had been placed upon the altar, but immediately after the coronation of the queen the patriarch pointed to it, saying: "Lady, you are a woman, and it is therefore right that you should have a man to aid you in governing. Take that

* Her name was Pasque de Riveri. She was the wife of a mercer of Naplouse, and carried on an adulterous intercourse with the patriarch before her husband's death, but afterwards lived openly with him in concubinage. Bertrand the Treasurer mentions the facts, and depicts the life and manners of the patriarch in the darkest colours.

† It is curious that Vertot should be totally ignorant of these facts, which stand upon the best authority that we have, but though honourable to the Grand Master of the Hospital, are never mentioned by him in his *Life of Roger Desmoulins*, who filled that office from the year 1179 till the battle of Nazareth, in 1187.

crown, and give it to whomsoever you think fit to rule your kingdom." Sybilla at once raised the diadem from the altar, and exclaimed, addressing Guy of Lusignan: "Advance, sir, and receive this crown, which I cannot employ better." Her husband then knelt at her feet, and she placed the crown upon his head.*

Notwithstanding all the care which had been taken to prevent any one from entering Jerusalem, or going out of the city to the barons assembled at Naplouse, a spy sent by them had contrived to make his way in through a postern belonging to a lazar house built against the walls; and in the habit of a monk he witnessed the whole proceedings of the coronation, and carried the tidings immediately to those by whom he had been despatched. The observations of the nobles upon the elevation of Guy of Lusignan show the contempt in which he was universally held.

"I will bet he is not king for a year," cried the gallant Baldwin of Ramla; and he then added: "My lords, do the best that you can, for the country is lost, and I shall take myself away, for I will not have the shame and the reproach of having shared in the ruin of my country. I know this king so well for a fool and a loiterer, that I am sure he will neither act by my advice nor yours, but by that of those who are incapable, for which reason I shall quit the land."

He was persuaded, however, to stay by the Count of Tripoli, who on this occasion proved that he was actuated by no desire of grasping the sceptre himself, by proposing that they should crown Humphrey of Thoron, who had married Isabella, the youngest daughter of Almeric, and his only child by his legitimate queen. This course was immediately decided upon, and the coronation was appointed for the next day. During the night, however, the young prince, whom they intended thus to elevate, took fright at the difficult

* Vague tidings of these events reached Europe in various shapes, and gave rise to many disfigured accounts, amongst which is the ornamented narrative of Hoveden, which has been very generally adopted, but which I have rejected entirely, as the worthy chaplain was ignorant even of the names of most of the persons concerned, and of many of the most important facts. Bernard the Treasurer, and Rudolphus of Coggeshall, confirm each other in every important particular, and are generally supported by the best Arabian historians, though Ibn-alatir says that the barons of the realm were present at the coronation of Guy and Sybilla.

situation in which he was likely to be placed, and weakly flying to Sybilla, did homage to Guy of Lusignan.*

This act of folly and feebleness broke up the confederation of Naplouse. Seeing no further hope of resisting the power of Guy and Sybilla, the barons abandoned the Count of Tripoli, with the sole exception of his renowned friend, Baldwin of Ramla, who declared that he would never hold lands of such a monarch as Guy of Lusignan. Determined to resign his territories, he sent his son, then a minor, to do homage and receive investiture of the estates he was about to quit. Guy of Lusignan, however, refused to receive him as a vassal till his father had performed the same act; upon which the Lord of Ramla, surrounded by his knights, marched into Jerusalem, presented himself before the king, and addressing him without any salutation, said: "King Guy, I do you homage as a man who will hold no lands of you." After which stern words, he caused his son to be invested, and then, leaving the boy in the custody of his brother, Balian of Ibelin, he quitted the presence and the territories of the new king, escorted by his knights till he had reached the frontiers of the principality of Antioch.

In the mean while, the Count of Tripoli retired to Tiberiad, highly indignant at all that had been done, and refusing in any way to acknowledge Guy of Lusignan as his sovereign. The menacing aspect which the count assumed, the danger of suffering one of the great vassals of Jerusalem to deny his title to the throne, and set his power at defiance, but still more, the counsels of the Grand Master of the Temple, determined the weak sovereign to march against the count, and besiege him in Tiberiad. Hitherto the conduct of the Count of Tripoli had been irreproachable;† but consideration for his personal safety now joined with indignation to make him forget the duties of a Christian knight, and in the

* It is probable that this young noble did not take part zealously, even from the first, with the barons, as we know that he was ever greatly under the influence of Renault of Chatillon, the friend of Lusignan.

† Emadeddin gives us to understand that the Count of Tripoli had endeavoured to seize the crown of Jerusalem before the death of Baldwin V.; and had Saladin had any share in the supposed transaction, we might attach some weight to the statement of his secretary; but that not being the case, we cannot do so in opposition to the best Christian testimony, and to the whole conduct of the count on the death of the young king.

emergency which presented itself, he sent for aid to Saladin, with whom he had always kept his faith severely.

As may well be supposed, the sultan, who had already prepared all things within his own territories for a general assault upon Palestine, was well pleased to find the dissensions of the Christians offer the very opportunity he could have desired. The request of the count was granted instantly, and a body of Mahommedan troops was sent off to his support; but not content with this mark of his friendship, Saladin offered to aid Raymond in seizing upon the crown of Jerusalem, and instantly liberated a number of the vassals and subjects of Tripoli, who were at the time prisoners in his hands. There can be no doubt that the gratitude of the count was expressed in warm terms, and the Mussulmans flattered themselves that they had gained an ally so devoted to the sultan that he was even willing to embrace their faith, and only refrained from the fear of displeasing his subjects.* The result showed how greatly they were mistaken; but the act which the count had already committed was sufficient to blast his reputation with the Christians both of the east and west, and to give countenance to numerous falsehoods circulated against him.

While these events were taking place, Guy of Lusignan advanced with the army which he had collected, as far as Nazareth, on his march to Tiberiad, and Saladin collected a considerable body of men in the neighbourhood of Paneas, watching for the events which were about to occur, and only waiting the call of the Count of Tripoli. The prudence, however, of Balian of Ibelin dissipated the storm for a time. Hastening after the king to Nazareth, he represented to him, in strong terms, the danger which he ran; in fact, the certain destruction that awaited him if he attacked the count in Tiberiad. He showed him that the army with which he was about to commence such operations in the midst of the winter was greatly inferior to that which Raymond could bring against him; and that even if he succeeded in his enterprise against the count, Saladin was ready to fall upon him with a vastly superior force. Yielding to his persuasions, the king dismissed his army and retired,† and several of the

* Ibn-alatir. Emadeddin.

† Mr. Mills, who even in his short account of these events misstates many of

principal nobles of the kingdom undertook to mediate between Guy and his opponent.

Raymond, however, replied to their proposals, that he would never consent to a peace till Berytes, which had been left in his hands as a pledge for the fulfilment of certain conditions, was restored to him. The envoys do not seem to have been empowered to grant this demand, and the negotiations continued, without coming to a satisfactory conclusion, during the whole of the winter and spring of the year 1178. Then, however, the vast preparations made by Saladin alarmed not only the weak monarch, but the stronger and more determined spirits by whose counsels he was so fatally ruled. For once they advised him well, urging him to call the Count of Tripoli to his aid at any sacrifice; and four envoys of the highest rank were sent to Tiberiad, to persuade the great leader to break off his alliance with the Mahomedans, and to assist in the defence of Christian Palestine.

In the end of April, the Archbishop of Tyre, the Grand Master of the Temple, Balian of Ibelin, and Renault of Sydon, set out from Jerusalem to negotiate with the count. While the last-named personage proceeded alone, by a road we do not know, the three first took their way by Naplouse, where they slept the first night. On the following morning, the Grand Master of the Temple and the archbishop proceeded towards Tiberiad, while Balian of Ibelin remained to transact some business in Naplouse, promising to overtake them the next day; and they that night arrived at a castle, which I find called *La Feue*,* where tidings of an extraordinary kind reached them from the Count of Tripoli.

Some days before, Saladin himself had commenced his march to besiege Carac and take vengeance on Renault of Chatillon; and his son, Afdal, in order to make a diversion in his father's favour, sent messengers to Tiberiad, demanding that the count, as their ally, should suffer a body of

the principal facts, says that the king besieged Raymond of Tripoli in Tiberias, when in fact Guy, taking a circuit round Mount Tabor, never approached nearer than Nazareth.

* I find this usually translated *Safet*, which also, it seems, bore that name, but which lay very much out of the track of the messengers, being considerably to the north of Nazareth in all the maps of the country that I have seen. I have, therefore, retained the name given to the place in the original text of Bernard the Treasurer.

Mussulman troops to pass through his territories into the kingdom of Jerusalem. With a number of the Turks within his own walls, bound to Saladin by gratitude, and uncertain of peace with the King of Jerusalem, yet horrified at the idea of actually countenancing the infidel in the slaughter of his fellow-Christians, the Count of Tripoli now felt all the danger and difficulty resulting from the false step he had taken. Not without much hesitation did he consent to the proposal of the Mahommedan prince, and then induced him to promise that, if he were suffered to pass the Jordan by daybreak, on the 1st of May, he would re-cross the stream before nightfall, and in the course of his excursion, would enter neither castle nor city, but would content himself with ravaging the open country. A pledge to this effect having been given, the count instantly sent off messengers to all the neighbouring towns and castles, beseeching the lords and governors of the various districts to keep their people strictly within the walls during the time of the Mahommedan incursion which he had the pain of announcing, assuring them, that if they did so, no attack would be made on any city or strong place; but that those who ventured beyond the gates would inevitably be put to the sword.

Knowing that the king's envoys were advancing to Tiberiad, he wrote to them also, with his own hand, entreating them to remain during the following day at the chateau of La Feue; but the fiery valour and rash presumption of the Grand Master of the Temple frustrated the more prudent purposes of the count. The moment the grand master received the intelligence, he despatched a courier to a neighbouring preceptory of the Temple, commanding all the knights to mount immediately, and join him, with their squires and serving-men. The garrison of La Feue comprised ninety knights of the Temple and Hospital; and at daylight, the next morning, all who could be mustered within the walls, together with the Templars who had arrived from the preceptory during the night, marched on to Nazareth, where they were joined by forty more knights.

Without pausing to calculate the number of the enemy, this little band, led by the grand masters of the two orders, pursued the Mussulmans, who were already in retreat. They overtook them at a fountain called Creson, where a consider-

able body was assembled, though not the whole of the Mahommedan force; for the infidel leaders had received intelligence of the march of the Templars, and had concealed a part of their troops in the recesses of the neighbouring mountain.* This ambuscade was apparently unobserved by the Christian chiefs; and the battle immediately began. The Mahommedans were commanded by Modaffareddin, Prince of Edessa, and, according to the account of Vinesauf, the forces which followed him amounted to not less than seven thousand horse. Surrounded on every side, the gallant knights, in number a hundred and forty,† continued the fight for some hours with a degree of valour and determination which seemed unconquerable. They drew the arrows from their wounds, and cast them back upon the enemy; when swords and lances were broken, they grappled with the foe, and neither sought nor received quarter. One knight of the Temple, named Jacquelin de Maille, mounted on a white horse, displayed such feats of valour, that even the infidel adversary were moved with compassion, and besought him earnestly to surrender. But such a thought was far from the mind of the determined soldier; and after laying the heads of many Turkish horsemen in the dust, he also fell with the rest of his companions. None of the knights but the Grand Master of the Temple and two of his brethren escaped alive from the fatal field of Nazareth.‡ The serving-men, it would seem, took no part in the battle, and seeing their masters slain, fled in safety unpursued: Modaffareddin being anxious to keep faith with the Count of Tripoli, and repass the Jordan before the fall of the night.

Consternation and regret seized upon the Count of Tripoli as soon as he heard of the slaughter which had taken place amongst his Christian brethren; and he might well grieve for the death of Roger Desmoulins, the Grand Master of the Hospital, who had always shown himself a true and gallant knight, and had especially adhered to his word in those late

* Such was the account afterwards given by the Grand Master of the Temple to Balian of Ibelin. He boasted at the same time that he would have overcome the enemy had it not been for this ambuscade.

† Rudulphus of Coggeshall gives the numbers as one hundred and thirty knights, and from three to four hundred foot soldiers. He differs from other authorities on several points; but was, apparently, only generally informed of the facts.

‡ Abou-schame calls this victory "the beginning of blessings."

transactions which had produced civil discord in the land. At first, also, it would appear he believed that his old friend and companion in arms, Balian of Ibelin, had been slain in the battle, and that he had thus lost the two most honourable and strenuous supporters of his cause by his own fault. His mind, however, was soon relieved respecting the latter, by the appearance of messengers from Balian and the Archbishop of Tyre, who were by this time at Nazareth; and he immediately sent out fifty knights to conduct them in safety to Tiberiad. The Grand Master of the Temple was prevented from accompanying them by the wounds he had received.*

As soon as he saw the envoys of the king, the Count of Tripoli candidly expressed his shame and sorrow for that which had occurred; and without further hesitation or delay, he agreed to send back the Mahommedan troops which he had received in Tiberiad, to forget his enmity towards Guy of Lusignan, and once more to give the aid of his experience and his valour to the kingdom of Jerusalem. He consented, also—apparently without any hostages or security whatever—to accompany the two envoys to the presence of the king; and Guy met him at a short distance from Jerusalem with as much honour as if he had been a fellow-sovereign, dismounting from his horse as soon as he saw him, and advancing towards him on foot.

Their reconciliation being now completely effected, a great council was held at Naplouse to consider what was to be done for the defence of the kingdom, as Saladin was actually in arms at Carac, and there could be no doubt that the whole strength of his vast dominions was about to be employed for the destruction of the Christians of Palestine. The advice of the Count of Tripoli was, that the king should immediately assemble his army in the neighbourhood of the Sephoritan fountain, a spot which combined the advantages of a central situation, a strongly-defensible position, plenty of water, and abundant forage for the horses. The two latter considerations were always essential elements in every plan of military

* A modern historian hints that the Grand Master of the Temple did not accompany them to Tiberiad, not liking to trust himself in the hands of the Count of Tripoli. But the account given by Bernard the Treasurer is distinct in the old French version:—"Quant il vindrent fors la cité, le Maistre du Temple, retorna, pource qu'il ne pout chevauchier."

operations in the Holy Land, and the advice of the Count of Tripoli was followed in this respect, as well as in that of sending immediately to the Prince of Antioch for assistance.

No time was lost; the hopes of the people of Jerusalem revived on seeing the dissensions which had afflicted the land removed, and the leader in whose courage and sagacity they had the greatest confidence directing the councils of the king. The Grand Master of the Temple himself, who, however factious, rash, vain, and false, was never wanting in energy and determination, co-operated eagerly in all the measures now taken for the defence of the kingdom. By his advice, Guy of Lusignan caused proclamation to be made, offering pay to all men who would come forward in arms to repel the enemy; and by the grand master, likewise, the means of defraying this expense were supplied. The treasures which Henry II. of England had sent to the Holy Land, in expiation of his share in the murder of Thomas à Becket, had been entrusted to the Knights of the Temple, and never yet applied to the purposes for which they were intended. These were now made over to Guy of Lusignan for the payment of his hired forces; and the king ordered the commanders of the bands thus raised to display a banner bearing upon it the arms of the King of England.

Knights and nobles flocked in from all sides; the Prince of Antioch sent his son and fifty of his most gallant warriors; every brother of the Temple and Hospital that could be spared from their various fortresses hurried to Sephorim, and in five weeks the largest army was collected which had ever been assembled by a king of Jerusalem in so short a space of time.* The clergy in great numbers were also present, and the only person of any distinction who seems to have shrunk from the duties of his station was the Patriarch Heraclius, who excused himself from quitting Jerusalem, and sent out the wood of the true cross by the hands of another.

Nor were such exertions unnecessary; for the storm which was destined to sweep away the kingdom which Godfrey of Bouillon had established, was about to break. Saladin was now fully prepared to cast from him all other objects of

* "Vous estes nouvelement roi, ne onques mes roi de ceste terra na une si grant gent en si petit d'ore."

ambition, and drive the Christians forth from Palestine. Although he had long declared his intention to devote himself to the Holy War, as he termed the struggle with the Franks of Syria, he had made no important effort for their destruction since the fatal check of Ramla. On the contrary, a great part of his time had been employed in successful aggressions on his fellow-Mussulmans; and the people of Mesopotamia were already accusing him of persecuting those of the true faith, and neglecting his advantages against the Christians. He felt that the moment for action was now come; and in the autumn of 1186 and the spring of 1187 he despatched letters into every part of his dominions, and to all the princes tributary or allied to him, to Moussoul, to Egypt, even to Arbeles, on the other side of the Tigris, calling the whole Mussulman world to aid in driving forth from Asia the children and successors of the crusaders.* The body of troops which he had taken with him to Carac had been but small, but during his absence, the main body of his army, under his son, Malek Afdal, had been increased by reinforcements from various parts of Syria; and before anything had been effected against the mountain fortress of Renault de Chatillon, two important pieces of intelligence reached the ears of the sultan, and made him determine immediately to raise the siege, and put himself at the head of the vast army which had been assembled between Damascus and the lake of Tiberias. The first of these was the victory of Nazareth, which, though the triumph may seem insignificant over a hundred and forty knights and four hundred foot soldiers, was esteemed by the Mahommedans as the "commencement of blessings on Islamism;" so great was the importance attached by the Mussulmans to the valour and military skill of the Knights of the Temple and the Hospital.

The second part of the tidings was as unfavourable as the former was inspiring. A great advantage had been lost by the reconciliation of the Count of Tripoli with the King of Jerusalem. But that reconciliation not only showed Saladin the necessity of rejoining his main army without loss of time, but excited his anger, and gave a direction to his efforts which, it is very probable, they might not otherwise have taken. That the first action of the war would be on the side

* Ibn-alatir.

of the Tiberiad now became clear from all the movements of the Mussulman force; and the vast extent to which the sultan's host had been swelled might well alarm the one party, and raise high the expectations of the other.

At a village called Ashtara, a little distance from Damascus, on the road towards the sea of Tiberias, the sultan rejoined his host in the hottest part of the year, and immediately passed in review the immense multitude there assembled. The attempt to discover the numbers which now thronged around his standard would probably be in vain, as they have been variously estimated by every different writer, and it is clear that the Arabian authors themselves spoke from guess. By one we are told that fifty thousand horse and innumerable foot soldiers were present at the muster. By another, who, though seeing the events from a distance, marked with great accuracy all the transactions of the time, we are assured that Saladin's army amounted to eighty thousand men; and by another we are informed that it comprised levies of Parthians, Bedouins, Medes, and Egyptians. One thing, however, is certain, from the statements of Ibn-alatir, probably the best and most impartial of the contemporary authorities, and who was with Saladin at the time, that the sultan had at his command a body of ten thousand regular cavalry, besides a multitude of auxiliaries from all parts of Asia, which Emadeddin, the secretary of the monarch, compares to the assembly of mankind on the day of judgment,*

These troops the sultan separated into five divisions, com-

* Some historians declare that Saladin did not receive the news of the Count of Tripoli's reconciliation with the King of Jerusalem till the period of this review. But it is scarcely possible to credit such a statement, as the event had taken place long before, as Raymond had dismissed the Syrian troops from Tiberiad immediately after the battle of Nazareth, and the news of that victory and the defection of the count must, consequently, have reached Damascus almost at the same time. Neither is it at all probable that Afdal would communicate the one event to his father and not the other, and there is every reason to suppose that it was the tidings of this reconciliation which brought the sultan away from the siege of Carac, rather than the victory of Nazareth. In regard to the authorities for these events, I have preferred the testimony of the contemporary Arabian historians, Ibn-alatir and Emadeddin, and the nearly contemporary statements of Abouschame, though the latter, certainly, wrote after the events; to the great work of Aboulfeda, which was composed more than a century later. The Christian writers I rely upon, are principally the continuation of William of Tyre, by Bernard the Treasurer, Rudulf of Coggeshall, and the first book of Vinesauf.

posing an advanced guard, a rear guard, a centre, and two wings; and in this array he marched forward to a place which I find called Akhouaneh, on the frontiers of the Tiberiad. The further movements of Saladin are variously stated by various authors, but following the best guides amongst the Arabians, there is reason to believe that, instead of attacking the capital of the Countess of Tripoli's territories at once, as some have declared, he advanced to the westward of that city, perhaps for the purpose of reconnoitring the Christian army. Certain it is, that he himself passed some time in observing the forces of Jerusalem from the top of a hill,* and finding that all was quiet in their camp, he returned with a part of his troops to besiege Tiberiad. The larger body, however, he left behind, between the devoted fortress and the camp of the King of Jerusalem, in such a position as to cover entirely his own movements, and to enable his corps and the main army mutually to support each other.

It would appear that this attack upon Tiberiad had been in no degree anticipated by the Count of Tripoli, although he must have been well aware that the amicable relations between himself and the sultan were at an end, for we find that the city itself was without any garrison, and that the Countess of Tripoli, who had been left in the place, had only sufficient troops to defend the citadel. On the first approach of the enemy, the countess sent intelligence of her danger to her husband and the king; but Saladin did not condescend to employ the usual means of siege against the defenceless town, which was taken by storm before the first messengers of the countess could reach the camp of the Christians. Death awaited those who resisted, slavery was the doom of the rest, and while the city was given up to the flames, the citadel itself was closely besieged.†

The news of this disaster speedily reached the camp of the King of Jerusalem, and a council was immediately called to decide what course was to be pursued in such an emergency.

* I prefer the account of Ibn-alatir, who was present, to that of Bohaeddin, who was then at Bagdad, and who apparently did not join Saladin till after the capture of Jerusalem.

† Ibn-alatir. Bernard the Treasurer. Rudolphus Cogheshall implies that the count neglected to give his wife due succour; but his account of many of the events preceding the actual siege of Jerusalem is proved to be inaccurate in various points of minor importance.

The immense superiority of the enemy's force was known. Twenty thousand foot and fourteen hundred knights appear to have formed the utmost amount of the Christian army, and already detachments from the host of Saladin had swept the lands round, burning the open towns and villages, and laying waste the whole track between Sephorim and the lake of Tiberias. It was now the dry and burning month of July; the country in advance was arid, difficult, and defensible; and the person, of all others, who might be supposed biassed by interest and affection to urge the march of the army for the deliverance of the Countess of Tripoli, was he who generously and devotedly counselled the king to abstain from so perilous a step. The speech of the count is so remarkable, that I cannot refrain from giving it entire, as it is recorded, without any material variation, by two of the best authorities, Christian and Mussulman.*

"Sire," he said, "I would give you my advice if I might be believed; but I know that people will not believe me. However, I advise you to let Tiberiad fall, and I will tell you why. Tiberiad is mine, and my wife is in it; and if it is lost, none will lose so much as I shall. But I well know that if the Saracens take it they will do no harm, but will occupy it, and will not come to seek us in this place; and if they take my wife and my people, and destroy my city, I will get them again when I can; for I would much rather that the place was taken and occupied by them than that the whole country was lost. I know well that if you go to succour Tiberiad, lost it is. I will remind you also that between this place and Tiberiad there is no water except one little fountain, the fountain of Creson—but a small supply for an army. As soon as you are on the march the Saracens will come to meet you, and will harass you all the way, and will force you to encamp in such a manner that you will not be able to fight on account of the heat, and because your men-at-arms have nothing to drink; and if you fight, the Saracens will disperse and fly towards the mountains, where you cannot go without your men-at-arms;† and if they force you to encamp, what

* Bernard the Treasurer. Ibn-alatir. Rudolphus of Coggeshall paints the conduct of the Count of Tripoli in colours very similar.

† In this sentence there seems to me to be a word left out in the original text, implying that the king could not follow them into the mountains, or, perhaps,

will your men and horses drink? They will die of thirst. The next day the Saracens will take you all; for they will have water and provisions, and be refreshed, and we shall all be starved, and dead with thirst and heat. Thus we shall be every one killed or taken: and for this cause I advise you to lose Tiberiad rather than to lose the land."

To this speech the Grand Master of the Temple replied by an ungenerous sneer; saying, that under it he saw the wolf's hair.* The count, who knew he had given cause for such reproach, did not resent it, but merely replied, "Sire, should you advance, you shall strike off my head if all that I have told you does not happen."

The assembled barons, however, were unanimous in support of the opinion of the Count of Tripoli, and it was determined that the army should remain encamped at Sephorim watching the proceedings of the enemy, till some favourable opportunity occurred for striking a decisive blow. But the Grand Master of the Temple retired discontented to his tent, midnight being then past, and the morning of the fatal 2nd of July beginning to draw near.

After the king had supped, the grand master returned, and urged him vehemently to advance at once upon Tiberiad. He called Raymond of Tripoli a traitor, told the weak prince that the count's advice had been given but to bring shame upon him, and pointed out the great force that the monarch had with him; but in the end he showed the vengeful personal feelings by which he was moved, adding, evidently in allusion to the defeat of Nazareth, "Know that the Templars will cast away their white mantles sooner than the disgrace which the Saracens have brought upon me shall not be avenged."†

He then advised him to order the whole host instantly to make ready, and to march with the holy cross before the army.

the word which appears to be *ne*, ought to be in reality *ou*, which would render the sense perfect; as it is, the *ne* is superfluous.

* Ibn-alatir attributes the opposition offered to such wise advice to Renault of Chatillon.

† A modern writer has somewhat strangely mistranslated this sentence in favour of the grand master. He thus renders it: "Know that the Templars will sooner tear the white mantle from their shoulders, and sell all that they possess, than remain any longer quiet spectators of the injury and disgrace that have been brought upon the Christian arms." This gives a very different view of the grand master's conduct, and not a just one, for his words were, "Que la honte ne fust vengée que li Sarrazins n'ont faite."

The monarch, swayed by the remembrance of various benefits which the grand master had conferred, yielded to his remonstrance, and accepted his counsel. The call to arms was immediately sounded through the camp, and the astonished barons hastened to the tent of the king to learn what was the meaning of this change of plan. Guy, however, refused to hear them, merely commanding them to arm and follow him, and with heavy hearts they obeyed, knowing that no good could ensue from such a course.

The Count of Tripoli led the advanced guard, and Balian of Ibelin brought up the rear; but before the king's tent was struck, the words of Raymond were verified, by the light troops of the Turks attacking the army on every side. With such vigour and effect did they thus commence the assault that a number of the knights of Balian of Ibelin were killed, as the Christian host moved forward into the midst of a devastated and arid country, in presence of a superior force.

Saladin rejoiced when he heard of the rash step which Guy of Lusignan had taken, and exclaimed, "We have gained our end!" seeming to imply, that the attack upon Tiberiad had been made with a view of drawing the Christians from their position at Sephorim. Some of the Mussulmans, indeed, do not appear to have viewed the approach of the Christians with the same degree of satisfaction and confidence. Emadeddin declares that the Frankish army at this time amounted to more than fifty thousand men, and compares their march to the waves of an agitated sea, or the mountains in movement; and Ibn-alatir admits that the Mahommedans felt some apprehension, till they saw the distressed state of the Christian chivalry towards the close of the day.

Saladin, whom the news reached at Tiberiad, immediately left a small body of troops to blockade the citadel of that place, and put himself at the head of his main army, while detachments of the light and rapid cavalry of the desert still whirled round the host of Palestine on its burning march, and left it not an instant of repose. Thus impeded and harassed, the progress of the Christian force was but slow; and though the distance between Tiberiad and the fountain of Sephorim, we are assured by one author, was not more than five miles, the Franks were still three miles from the

city when it was judged expedient to halt. The lake of Genesareth was, at this time, little more than a mile distant; and, after a short repose, the Count of Tripoli urged the king to force his way on, at least to the borders of the sea of Galilee, in order that the men and horses might obtain water to quench the burning thirst which already devoured them.* A movement, it would appear, was made to follow this advice; but the advance of masses of the Mussulman cavalry prevented the execution of the count's design, and induced the king to encamp at the spot called Marescallia,† where he then was. The Mahommedan army pitched their tents so near, and so completely encircled the forces of the Christians, that the two hosts could have conversed together; and not a living creature could escape from the camp of Guy without being stopped by the enemy. A sultry night and burning thirst consumed the remaining strength of the Franks; every drop of liquid was exhausted in the camp, and, to use the expression of the sultan's secretary, "they had drained even the water of their tears."

The principal Mahommedan and Christian authorities represent them as overcome with fatigue, heat, and thirst, and yielding to despair. But despair itself has a courage of its own, and on the following morning early they prepared to open a passage to the lake of Tiberias with their swords.

It was a part of the policy of the Mussulmans, however, being far more lightly armed than the Christians, and habituated from infancy to endure the burning sun of their native climate, to force the warriors of the west to combat in the heat of noon, and they therefore retreated for a short distance towards the lake of Tiberias, setting fire to the reeds and bushes which lay between them and the forces of the cross, and thus both impeding their advance by a flaming barrier, and increasing the terrible thirst by which they were afflicted. In the mean while the archers of Saladin took possession of

* Bernard the Treasurer gives a different account, and says that it was by advice of the Count of Tripoli that the king halted; but, though the most valuable Christian record of those times, and wonderfully supported by contemporary Arabian accounts, I have preferred the testimony of Coggeshall, for various reasons. His account goes even further to justify the Count of Tripoli than we have ventured to do, in those points where he is not supported by the Mussulman historians.

† Vinesauf.

the commanding heights around, prepared to pour their arrows upon the devoted host of the Christians; and his cavalry, in overpowering numbers, occupied all the passes leading towards the lake.

The army of Palestine, however, after some short delay, moved forward to the battle, the holy cross being borne by the Bishops of Acre and Lidda, and the advance guard led by the Count of Tripoli; while the main body of the enemy was commanded by Saladin in person, with his renowned nephew, Takieddin, at the head of the Mussulman van. A great mass of foot, it would appear, accompanied the Count of Tripoli, but this was composed of the peasantry of Palestine, who impeded rather than assisted his operations; and the knights who supported them were covered with heavy armour, which excited the astonishment of the historian, Emadeddin, but which increased in a tremendous degree the fatigue and heat which they were destined to endure. As the Christians advanced to the charge, the Mussulman archers, from the heights, poured upon them a shower of arrows, which they themselves compare to a flight of locusts; and the Frankish infantry, thrown into confusion, attempted, without orders, to gain an elevation on which they might remain out of reach of the terrible shafts of the enemy.

As far as we can judge by the obscure accounts of that which is always, more or less, a scene of confusion, the Christian forces were attacked by the superior Mussulman force on both flanks, as well as in front; and while the Count of Tripoli, with the horse and foot under his command, was maintaining the battle in advance, the Hospitallers and Templars in the rear of the army were also carrying on a bloody and determined contest against a powerful corps of the Mahomedan troops.* The two grand masters, finding themselves overpowered, despatched messengers to the king for aid; but Lusignan himself was under the arrows of the enemy, and his only resource was to order the Count of Tripoli to attack the main body of the sultan vigorously, and open a way to the lake of Tiberias.

The count accordingly charged down the side of a hill,

* Mr. Addison, in his "History of the Templars," seems to place them in the front of the battle, but the words of Coggeshall are not to be mistaken when he says, "In extrema parte exercitus."

accompanied by a number of the knights and nobles by whom he was surrounded; and Takieddin, to whom he was opposed at that moment, seeing the desperate fury with which he advanced, caused his battalions to open to receive the Christian prince, with the design of enveloping him in the masses of Turkish cavalry, and cutting his small corps to pieces. It is probable that had the Templars and Hospitallers been stationed in such a position as to be enabled to support the count, instead of being posted in the rear, the Mussulman line would have been broken, and the way to the lake opened. Unaided as he was, he cut his way through, though not without the loss of a large number of the knights by whom he was accompanied.

The Grand Master of the Hospital, Balian of Ibelin, and Renault of Sidon, together with several Knights of the Temple and some other nobles, likewise made their escape from the battle when they found that all was lost; but the king, with Renault of Chatillon, the Bishops of Acre and Lidda, the Grand Master of the Temple, the Marquis of Montferrat, Geoffrey of Lusignan, and a large body of the military friars, as well as a crowd of foot soldiers, were left surrounded on every side by the victorious Mussulmans, while charge after charge of the Syrian and Egyptian cavalry, and flight after flight of arrows, thinned their ranks every moment, and threw them into irremediable confusion. They still protracted the struggle, however, for some time, and the Christian knights again and again bore down upon the enemy, endeavouring to hew a passage for the king. We have the authority of Saladin's own son, Afdal, for saying that the sultan himself could not believe that such desperate efforts would prove unsuccessful, till he saw the tent of the king fall, when, descending from his horse, he cast himself upon the ground, and with tears of joy gave thanks to God for the great victory he had gained.*

* Ibn-alatir, who apparently was present at this battle, does not seem to have been near Saladin; but the account given by Prince Afdal is extremely characteristic and picturesque. He says, "I was by the side of my father when the King of the Franks retired to the hill. The warriors who were around him charged and repulsed the Mussulmans to the bottom of the slope. I then looked at my father, and saw that his countenance was sad. 'Give the devil the lie,' he cried to the soldiers, tearing his beard. At those words, our army rushed upon the enemies, and drove them back to the top of the hill, while I, full of joy, ex-

Thus ended the battle of Tiberiad, the most fatal event that had ever befallen the kingdom of Jerusalem since its first foundation by Godfrey of Bouillon and his companions. The number slain on the part of the Christians was immense; though it is impossible to estimate exactly the amount of loss; for both Christians and Arabians vary so much in their testimony, that even an approximation can scarcely be ar-

claimed, 'They fly, they fly!' But the Franks returned to the charge, and came down again as far as the bottom of the hill, where they were again repulsed, and I began to cry once more, 'They fly, they fly!' Then my father looked at me, and said, 'Hold thy peace, they are not really defeated till the tent of the king falls.' Scarcely had he finished speaking, however, when the tent fell. Immediately my father dismounted, prostrated himself before God, and offered him thanks with tears of joy." The standard of the king was always before his tent, so that it was easy to distinguish the royal pavilion from the others which the unhappy remnant of the Christian army had attempted to raise upon Mount Hittin.

The calumnies which had been previously circulated regarding the Count of Tripoli, induced a number of Christian writers to believe that his escape from the field of battle was concerted with the enemy; but this is entirely and satisfactorily disproved by all the best accounts of the battle. Ibn-alatir shows that he actually cut his way through, Takieddin opening his ranks to avoid the desperate charge of the count. Aboulfeda declares that the count, "seeing how important it was to conquer, cast himself desperately into the fight, and charged the first line of the Mussulmans. Takieddin, Prince of Emad, caused his ranks to open to receive him and his followers, whom he surrounded and cut to pieces. The count, however, found means of escaping, and having reached Tripoli, died mad shortly after." Rudulf of Coggeshall shows that the Count of Tripoli fought valiantly with the advanced guard, which was separated from the rest of the army, and surrounded by the enemy, and that he did not attempt to fly till he saw that the battle was lost, and that he could not rejoin the rest of the army. Bernard the Treasurer, though he does not mention that the count actually sustained the shock of the Turks, proves that he was in no degree in league with them, by declaring that, although Tiberiad was but two miles distant, he did not dare to fly thither lest he should be taken; and although Bohaeddin declares that the count, to the injury of his reputation, fled from the battle at the beginning, *without fighting* (which is proved by eye-witnesses to be false), he shows that there was no compact between him and the Mussulmans, by asserting that a party was immediately despatched in pursuit of him. Even had this latter author sanctioned the charge against the Count of Tripoli, we should not have inclined to attach much weight to his statements, as he was not present; and notwithstanding his after intimacy with Saladin, many of his assertions in regard to this very battle are proved to be false by the eye-witnesses, respecting points on which he might have obtained better information. The strongest testimony, however, in favour of the Count of Tripoli, is that of Brother Terrick, Grand Preceptor of the Temple, who, in his circular letter, giving an account of the battle of Tiberiad to his order, says, "Scarcely could the Count of Tripoli, and the Lord Renault of Sidon, and the Lord Balian, and myself, escape from that miserable field;" without the slightest allusion whatsoever to anything like treachery or cowardice on the part of the count, which, as a Templar, he would certainly have made had there been the slightest pretence for it.

rived at.* It would appear certain, however, that not above a thousand men in all made their escape from that fatal field; the rest were made captives, or slain. "In beholding the number of dead," says Ibn-alatir, "one did not believe that there were any prisoners, and on seeing the prisoners, one did not believe that there were any dead. I myself passed over the field of battle a year after, and saw the bones piled up in heaps; there were others also scattered abroad here and there, without counting those which the wild beasts and the torrents had carried away to the mountains and the valleys."

"The field of battle," says Emadeddin of Ispahan, "was covered with the dead and the dying. I crossed Mount Hitin myself, and it showed me a horrible spectacle. I saw all that a fortunate nation had done to an unfortunate one—I saw the state of its leaders. Who can describe it? I saw heads struck off, eyes put out, or burst, corpses covered with dust, limbs dislocated, arms detached, bones cloven, necks cut through, backs broken, feet which were no longer attached to the leg, bodies parted in two, lips torn, foreheads riven! In beholding these countenances fastened to the earth, and covered with blood and wounds, I remembered the words of the Koran—'Oh that I were dust!'"

Such was the aspect of the field of battle and its dead: that of the camp and its captives was equally terrible. "The cords of the tents," says the same author, "were not sufficient to bind the prisoners. I saw thirty or forty men-at-arms tied with the same rope; I beheld from a hundred to two hundred gathered together, and guarded by a single man. Those warriors who lately displayed extraordinary strength, and rejoiced in greatness and power, now offered a miserable spectacle, with the countenance cast down, and the body naked. The Christian counts and lords had become the game of the hunter, and the knights the prey of the lion. Those who had humbled others were now humble in their turn; the freeman was in fetters; those who treated truth as a lie, and the Koran as an imposture, had fallen into the power of the True Believers!"

* In one of the letters preserved by Abouschame, the number of the Christian army is stated at forty-five thousand, and the writer asserts that not more than one thousand escaped death or captivity.

In the eyes of the Christians, the greatest misfortune of this day of disaster was the loss of the holy cross. It had been carried to the fight by the hands of the Bishops of Acre and Lidda; and placed in a conspicuous part of the army, where the gold and precious stones with which it was ornamented might be seen by all; it had served to animate the courage and preserve the resolution of the soldiery. The Bishop of Acre, however, fell early in the day; and the cross itself was captured in one of the charges of the Saracens some time before the surrender of the king. From that moment, the Christians considered all as lost. The warriors of the Holy Land might be slain, and fresh knights and nobles flow into Palestine from the west; the king himself might be taken, and another wiser and better easily found in his stead. But the true cross was not to be replaced; the wood on which the Saviour was supposed to have suffered, the sign of their salvation, their gage of victory, the emblem of their highest and their holiest hopes, was gone for ever, and confidence and expectation were at once extinguished. The Bishop of Lidda was taken in the battle with the king, who had also for companions in captivity his brother Geoffrey of Lusignan, Boniface Marquis of Montferrat, Humphrey of Thoron, Renault of Chatillon, Roger de Mowbray, Jocelyn of Courtenay, Almeric Constable of the Kingdom, the Grand Master of the Templars, with a vast number of his knights, besides other persons of note. The list of the distinguished men killed would be too long to insert in this place, but amongst them were several English nobles; and I find the name of Hugh Beauchamp particularly mentioned. The Grand Master of the Hospitallers found means to fly when he saw that the day was irretrievably lost, and reached Ascalon in safety. But he had borne from the battle many honourable wounds; and of them he died shortly after, having held his high office not quite two months.

With the Count of Tripoli escaped his four sons-in-law, lords of Tiberiad, young warriors of the greatest promise, who, in after years, aided to redeem the Christian name in Palestine. The count first fled to Tyre, and thence proceeded to his own city; but fatigue, exhaustion, and despair, proved more potent than the swords of the enemy, and he expired before the measure of his country's humiliation was complete.

When the battle was over, and the victory secure, Saladin caused the principal prisoners to be brought into his tent, and seeing the intense thirst with which they were afflicted, he called for some iced water, and handed the cup to the king. That cup to Guy of Lusignan was doubly welcome; for besides allaying his thirst, it gave him the assurance of safety, the Mussulmans never killing a prisoner to whom they had offered any act of hospitality. When the king had drank, however, he handed the cup to Renault of Chatillon, but Saladin instantly exclaimed: "It is not I who gave that wretch drink! I am not bound towards him!" and then turning to the unhappy noble with a frowning and terrible brow, he reproached him with his meditated attack upon Mecca and Medina, and his treacherous breach of the truce in regard to the Mussulman caravan. Renault justified himself boldly, and appears, even by the Arabian accounts, to have demeaned himself with the same dauntless courage, as a prisoner in the tent of his great enemy, which he had uniformly displayed in the field of battle. Saladin then offered him his life upon condition of his embracing the Mahomedan religion. "It is better to die!" replied the Lord of Carac; and Saladin, advancing, struck him with his scimitar. This was a signal for the emirs present to despatch him; and the body fell at the feet of Guy of Lusignan, who was seized with a fit of trembling at the sight. The sultan, however, bade him fear nothing, and thus ended the slaughter for that day.*

The next evening was that of Sunday; and at the hour of sunset, in cool blood, and with bitter determination, Saladin commanded the last act of the tragedy of Tiberiad to take place. The Mussulman army was drawn up in battle array, the emirs of the sultan arranged in line on his right and left; and Saladin, seated in the midst, by the cool shores of the lake, ordered the Knights of the Temple and Hospital, the sworn and devoted enemies of Islamism, to be brought before

* All the European authorities, I believe, without exception, declare that the head of Renault de Chatillon was struck off by Saladin's own hand, but the Arabs were eye-witnesses, and I have therefore adopted their account. It would appear from all the Arabian statements, whether of Ibn-alatir, Kemaleddin, or Emad-eddin, that Saladin had bound himself by a vow to put the Lord of Carac to death if ever he should fall into his hands.

him, with the exception of the grand master of the former order. As prisoners were in those times the absolute property of the persons who had taken them, and as large ransoms were generally paid for men of distinction, the sultan himself had been obliged to purchase from their captors the objects of his vengeance. But the offer of fifty pieces of gold for each Knight of the Temple or Hospital who might be delivered to his officers, speedily collected between two and three hundred of the military orders, and it was at once announced to them that they must choose between death and apostacy, must abjure their faith, or submit to the sword of the victor. Few, if any, were found to hesitate; and the only struggle seems to have been who should first win the crown of martyrdom.*

No longer moved by the fierce passions which animated him at the moment of the death of Renault of Chatillon, but deliberately perpetrating an act of bloodthirsty cruelty, under the impulse of religious fanaticism, Saladin, with a smiling face, ordered the emirs and principal persons around to strike off the heads of the prisoners one by one, while the rest of the army looked on upon the sanguinary deed with no feelings of horror or compassion, but with critical admiration of the dexterity displayed by some of the executioners in performing their barbarous office.†

The Christian world, however, heard of the devotion unto death which the martyrs of the Temple and Hospital had shown, with tender reverence and sorrowful admiration; and the religious imagination of the age clothed their mortal

* Emadeddin. Ibn-alatir. I might multiply authorities for all these particulars were it necessary, or did I wish to fill this page with the names of persons who lived long after the events; but the testimony of one or two eye-witnesses may be of more weight than that of those who wrote at a distance from the scene and the epoch.

† Enodeddin. Monsieur Guizot, in his notice on the work of Bernard the Treasurer, makes use of this remarkable expression:—"In no other chronicle, perhaps, the superiority in civilisation and generosity on the part of the Mussulmans over the people of the west makes itself so plainly felt." Monsieur Guizot's ideas of civilisation and generosity do not seem at this time to have been particularly distinct; for throughout the whole course of this history we shall have frequent occasion to dwell upon similar scenes of savage and barbarous fury. But the affected liberality of the present age is too apt to fancy that we show an enlightened spirit in crying up nations, acts, and principles, which former ages have condemned, and in depreciating the acts, the institutions, and the races, which our forefathers were accustomed to look upon with respect.

remains with glory, and represented rays of celestial light as issuing from the corpses of those celebrated warriors for three nights, while they lay unburied by the dark waters of Gennesareth.* The king, the Grand Master of the Temple, and other noble prisoners, were reserved from this act of slaughter, either on account of the ransom expected from them, or with a view to employ their influence in reducing the cities of Palestine. They were sent away as prisoners into the heart of Saladin's Syrian dominions, but were, ere long, recalled into the Holy Land for purposes which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

Not satisfied with this ruthless massacre, Saladin commanded the Governor of Damascus to put to death all the Knights of the Temple and Hospital who were already prisoners in that town; an order which was executed with bloodthirsty fidelity. Nor were the zealous subjects of the sultan disinclined to follow him in his fanatical cruelty, for we find that for some time after the battle of Tiberiad it was common to see, in the streets of Damascus, the freshly-dissevered heads of Christian captives piled up by the devout Mussulmans like melons, having been cut off in cold blood as an offering to their God of vengeance. So great, indeed, was the number of the prisoners, that this sacrifice was not very expensive, the ordinary price of a Turkish slave in the market being three pieces of gold.†

As may be supposed, the annihilation of the army of Palestine at the battle of Tiberiad left the land in a state of utter consternation. Almost all the towns and fortresses had been drained of their garrisons; the labourers likewise had quitted the field to take up the bow and the sword; and though their presence had impeded the operations of the trained military, and their insubordination had contributed more than anything else to the loss of the day, their destruction on that fatal field left the country without any source from which new levies could be drawn. The active and energetic ruler of the Mussulmans was not of a character to suffer the advantages thus offered to slip from his grasp, and he immediately put forth all his energies to profit by the terror and the destitution of the Christians, while at the height. Writing instantly to his brother, Malek Adel, whom

* Vinesauf, cap. v.

† Abouschame.

he had left in command in Egypt, he directed him to advance with all his African forces, and pour into the south-western districts of Palestine, while he himself hurried on from success to success in the north and east.

Sanguinary as he had shown himself, Saladin did not suffer his thirst for blood to impede his policy; and in his attack upon the cities and fortresses, towards which he now proceeded, he appeared willing on all occasions to arrive at a speedy surrender by affording moderate terms to the inhabitants. The first place against which he turned his arms was the citadel of Tiberiad, a strong and defensible castle, which might have delayed his progress for days, or perhaps for weeks, if he had not granted conditions to the garrison, which they were very glad to accept. The Countess of Tripoli, with the small force within the castle, was permitted to retire, and followed her husband to his dominions. On the same day Nazareth also surrendered to the arms of the Mussulmans. On the Wednesday following the battle, the sultan and his host advanced upon Acre, the citizens, in terror, flying before him, and carrying off their most valuable and portable effects. Nevertheless, an infinite quantity of rich booty was found on the entrance of the Turks into that great commercial port;* but Saladin neither took, nor granted to others, any repose, and immediately turned upon Tyre, which, however, he found too strongly defended to yield without a long and severe siege. Thither Balian of Ibelin, Renault of Sidon, and a number of distinguished leaders, had fled from the battle of Tiberiad; and Saladin, not choosing to embarrass himself with such an enterprise, marched towards Sidon, which he took, with several smaller places in the neighbourhood.†

During these proceedings, large detachments from the main army had been spread over the whole country round, carrying fire and the sword into every part of the land between the county of Tripoli and the city of Jerusalem. Sebaste, or Samaria, Cæsarea, Seforia, Caifa, and Naplouse, were captured; and on the other side of the country, the Egyptian

* Ibn-alatir.

† There is a considerable discrepancy between the authors who mention Saladin's first movements upon Tyre, into which we shall have to inquire hereafter.

forces, pouring in under Malek Adel, made themselves masters of Jaffa, Yabna, and other places.* Berytes surrendered to Saladin himself, and Byblos, or Djebail, was given up as a ransom for the lord of the city, who had been taken at the battle of Tiberiad. A fortress, named Boterim by Bernard the Treasurer (probably Botryum), fell also before Saladin; and although the place was insignificant, I cannot pass over its capture without noticing some remarkable words of the historian, who says: "This castle belonged to the lady whom the Count of Tripoli would not give to Gerard de Rochefort, who went into the Order of the Temple out of rage, by which began those hatreds whereby the land was lost." It may be a question whether the Gerard de Rochefort here mentioned is that Grand Master of the Temple, otherwise called Gerard de Riderfort, evidently by mistake, and sometimes Gerard de Biddefort; but if so, we have here the clue to that personal enmity on the part of the Grand Master of the Temple towards the Count of Tripoli, which aggravated all the difficulties that surrounded the kingdom of Jerusalem during the latter years of Baldwin the Leper and the reign of his infant successor.

Saladin then advanced along the sea-shore and laid siege to Ascalon, preparatory to an attack upon Jerusalem; but that important place showed a disposition to resist his arms with resolute valour; and the sultan, anxious to secure all the fruits of his great victory as easily as possible, caused the King of Jerusalem and the Grand Master of the Temple to be brought from Damascus, offering to set them at liberty if they could induce the inhabitants to surrender. What answer was made by the Templar we do not know, but Guy yielded readily to the suggestion, and sent an order to the garrison to open their gates to the victor.† The indignant Christians of Ascalon drove his messengers forth from the town with blows and execrations; and the Templars of Gaza, to whom Saladin had also sent a summons to surrender the

* Ibn-alatir.

† Bernard the Treasurer asserts that Guy, on the contrary, commanded the inhabitants of Ascalon not to surrender; but it seems to me that the testimony of Ibn-alatir is preferable, he having been an eye-witness of most of the events he recounts, and his statement on this occasion seeming more consonant with the character of Guy of Lusignan, which presented the ordinary combination of weakness and rashness.

small but almost impregnable fortress which they held, representing to them the state of the country, and offering them life and liberty, returned him a fierce and resolute reply.

In the mean time, the army of the sultan was increased by the junction of Malek Adel and the forces of Egypt, after which the siege of Ascalon was commenced with an overpowering accession of strength. The garrison resisted during fourteen days; but at the end of that period, finding that they were daily losing ground, and that not the slightest hope of relief from without could be entertained, while the multitudes of the infidels assailed them incessantly, and the king solicited them eagerly to open their gates, the brave defenders of Ascalon entered into a capitulation, and surrendered the city upon the conditions that their lives and property should be held sacred, that Saladin should cause them to be escorted in safety to some friendly territory, and that the king, with nine of his fellow-prisoners at his choice, should be set at liberty in the month of March following.*

During these events, the state of the Christians of Palestine was more dreadful than can be conceived, and the account of the Abbot of Coggeshall causes the reader, even in the present day, to sympathise with the unfortunate inhabitants of the Holy Land, and to shudder at their fate. The ruthless and destroying sword of the Mussulmans was carried into every village and hamlet; the men were slain wherever they were found, and the women and children carried away to a loathsome captivity. The whole land was covered with putrefying corpses; the churches, the convents, the chapels, were burnt to the ground; flames of fire, cries of agony, and moans of regret, rose up at once from the fair fields of Palestine, and the hearts of even the Mussulman writers themselves seem to have been touched by the sad spectacle they witnessed.

* It is generally stated that Ascalon surrendered at once without resistance, but the Mahommedan writers show that great injustice has been done to the garrison of that place by the accounts of their fellow-Christians. In regard to the march and proceedings of Saladin after the battle of Tiberiad, I have followed the accounts of the Arabians in preference to those of the Latin writers, and even to that of Coggeshall, who only gathered his information as a fugitive from the vague rumours of persons similarly situated, while Emadeddin and Ibn-alatir were eye-witnesses of the events they recount.

Ramla, Hebron, Bethlehem, Daroun, and Gaza, soon fell before the conquering sword of the sultan, and his march towards Jerusalem was one continual triumph, only interrupted by the gallant resistance of a small party of Hospitallers in a fortress near Bethlehem. The two military orders alone, in the deplorable state to which the kingdom was reduced, appear to have retained their unconquerable courage and determination, and to have taken energetic means to retrieve, if possible, the errors and the evils of the past. Letters were written by the Grand Preceptor of the Temple to all the houses of his order* throughout Europe, beseeching immediate aid, and directing his brethren to apply to all Christian monarchs for speedy assistance, while the military friars prepared to oppose the advance of the infidel step by step, with all that resolute daring which they had shown on so many occasions. The defence of Jerusalem was determined on, but the undertaking was rendered more and more difficult every hour by the multitudes of fugitives which fled to the capital from all parts of the country round before the desolating sword of the enemy, bringing terror and confusion along with them.

At the time when the defeat of Tiberiad became known in the Holy City, it contained few, if any, military defenders, and no leader of renown. But Balian of Ibelin, whose wife had taken refuge there, hastened from Tyre, to convey her to a place of security, having obtained a safe conduct from Saladin for that purpose. He had given his promise, it would seem, not to remain in Jerusalem above one night, but the people of the city, rejoicing in the presence of so famous a commander, would not permit him to execute his engagement. The patriarch absolved him from his vow; and the citizens watched him so closely that it was impossible for him

* These letters slightly differ one from the other, though in substance they are all the same. Three of them are preserved by English writers, Hoveden, Diceto, and Gervaise of Canterbury, which were evidently written at different times, and under somewhat different circumstances, two of them mentioning Berytus as one of the cities which still remained in the hands of the Christians, the other omitting it, probably because it had fallen. There are various other differences which I need not particularise; but the letter, as it is printed by Savile, in his edition of Hoveden, contains an error of the press, which is corrected in the *Scriptores Decem*. We find the names of Balian of Ibelin printed Ballovius instead of Balianus.

to quit the place. His high and chivalrous qualities had excited the admiration and won the friendship of Saladin, and when the Christian knight sent messengers to the sultan, then under the walls of Ascalon, to explain his situation, and to entreat that his wife and children might be permitted to pass in safety to Tripoli, while he remained to defend Jerusalem, the Syrian monarch received his excuses as valid, and sent an emir with a party of cavalry to escort the lady and her family to a place of safety.

The difficult task of holding out the city against the arms of Saladin was now confided to Balian of Ibelin, and the presence of a considerable party of Templars and Hospitallers encouraged the people, and gave them hope of successful resistance. As a constant friend and supporter of the Count of Tripoli, however, Balian was not likely to be very popular with the Knights of the Temple or with the patriarch; and unsupported against a powerful faction, having no experienced nobles within the walls on whom he could rely, no knights on whose co-operation and valour he could depend, the Lord of Ibelin had recourse to an act of a very singular and extraordinary character. Choosing out fifty young men, the most promising and distinguished that he could find amongst the class of burghers, he knighted them for the defence of the Holy City. His next step was an endeavour to provide for the multitude of women and children which had taken refuge in the place; but so great were the numbers, that even after all had been done that was possible to lodge them in the houses, many were still obliged to sleep in the streets.* The Queen Sybilla, indeed, with her train, received notice from Saladin that she might retire in safety to Naplouse,† to which place he had sent her husband, Guy of Lusignan; and she accordingly quitted Jerusalem under a safe conduct from the sultan; but none of the rest of the unfortunate fugitives dared to show their faces beyond the

* Jalaeddin al Siuti, in his History of the Temple, describes the situation of the city in the following words:—"And their abodes became too narrow for the people, and every house in the city was shared with whoever was a sharer, also those of the inferior people came forward to govern in places of dignity, and the Infidels were at variance, and the Franks despaired of relief, and assembled together to endure the ruin of all that was most precious."

† Ibn-alatir states that the Queen of Jerusalem was in the city at the time of its fall.

walls, round which the parties of Arabian horsemen were hovering night and day.

It is a lamentable, though perhaps not an extraordinary fact, that moments of great difficulty and danger generally bring dissension rather than concord; and such would appear to have been the case in Jerusalem at this time, the only resolution in which all the inhabitants seemed to unite being the determination of resisting to the last. From beneath the walls of Ascalon, Saladin summoned the Holy City to surrender, pointing out to the citizens that every fortress in the realm had fallen with the exception of Tyre and Carac, considered by many the two strongest places in the land. The people of Jerusalem replied that by God's will they would defend it to the last; and Saladin then swore that if they drove him to take the city by storm, he would put the whole of the male inhabitants to the sword, and reduce the women to captivity. The Christians, however, remained undaunted; and as soon as he had obtained possession of Ascalon, the sultan began his march towards Jerusalem. The mighty army by which he was accompanied, and the complete state of subjection to which he had reduced the neighbouring country, left little probability that a town, crowded with inhabitants, and scantily supplied with provisions, torn with factions, and unsupported by any external allies, would be able to resist his arms. Nevertheless, by some Arabian accounts, we find that Saladin hesitated,* and that there were persons who attempted to dissuade him from the enterprise, while, from every statement, we learn that the Christians were full of resolution, if not of confidence. When his determination was once formed, however, the sultan showed himself immovable therein, and on being told by an astrologer that he would take the city if he attempted it, but that it would cost him an eye, he replied, "Were it to cost me both I would take it."†

Marching on them from Ascalon with the whole force of his mighty army, preceded by clouds of light horsemen, and displaying all the pomp of eastern war, the sultan commenced his advance on Jerusalem, on Monday the 21st of September, 1187, having employed less than three months in subjugating the whole country after the battle of Tiberiad.

* Mogireddin.

† Emadeddin.

The first day he arrived at Beersheba, the second he paused at Bethlehem, and on the third his vast host looked forward upon Jerusalem from the hills by which it was surrounded. Joy and satisfaction took possession of the Mussulmans, and shouts of gratulation rent the sky as they beheld the city not less holy in their eyes than in the eyes of the Christians. At the same time, from the walls of Jerusalem might be seen the innumerable standards of the Mussulman host, yellow, white, and brown,* their floating garments, their glittering arms, and their light Arabian chargers, amidst clouds of dust, which, to use the expression of the historian, "turned the light of the morning into the twilight of night." But the resolution of the Christians did not give way before the sight. The cry in the city, according to the account of Al Siuti, was, "Beneath the Sepulchre of our Lord we will die, and on account of the dread of its separation from us will we be strong. From it will we procrastinate the evil day, and towards the relics in the city and the sepulchre will we hasten. Wherefore shall we not fight? Wherefore not do battle in this quarrel?"

The strength which yet remained in Jerusalem, and the resolute valour of her defenders, were soon felt by the Mussulman assailants. A Syrian emir, confident in the mighty host that followed him, preceded the rest of the army with a small body of cavalry, and passed insultingly before the gates, but he was not suffered to return unassailed. A detachment from the garrison instantly issued forth to repel the first appearance of attack, and in a brief combat under the walls of the city, the Mussulman leader was slain, with the greater part of his force,† while the rest were driven back in confusion to the camp of the sultan.

The peril was mighty, but the defence of Jerusalem had religious zeal for its motive, as well as the spirit of chivalrous honour. Death appeared imminent to the children of the Cross, but worse evils were seen as the only alternative, and "all preferred death to slavery, all were ready to sacrifice their lives, their riches, and their families, for the safety of the Holy City."

Nevertheless human weakness, of course, had way; and when, on the following morning, at daybreak, the loud sound

* Al Siuti.

† Ibn-alatir.

of drums and trumpets, shouts and cries of battle, rose up from the Mussulman army, and were wafted on the wind to the battlements of Jerusalem, the women and the children flocked into the churches and cast themselves down before the altars, stretching out their arms to God for help in that terrible hour of danger and dismay. Penitence and remorse might also have a share in their devotion; for there can be no doubt that the grossest corruption and debauchery had reigned in Jerusalem for many years; and one of the Christian historians says, "Our Lord Jesus Christ would hear no prayer they made, for the foul and stinking luxury and adultery which existed in the city did not suffer any petition to rise up before God."* The male population, however, flocked to the battlements, citizens, knights, men-at-arms, even monks and priests;† and every effort was made to offer a vigorous resistance to the enemy. Machines for casting down stones and Greek fire, sheaves of arrows, heaps of quarrels, swords, spears, and bucklers were prepared, and "the sounds of voices giving orders were confused by the thunder and lightning of their swords and arms."

Five days after were spent by Saladin in reconnoitring the city and preparing for the attack. But it would appear that, from the first, repeated sorties were made by the citizens, and that by their determined and desperate efforts an immense quantity of Mussulman blood was shed. At length, however, everything was ready for the Mahommedans to march to the assault, and the first point menaced was towards the north, near the gate of Amoud, or of the column, as it is called;‡ but at that spot the sultan could make no impression, his troops having the sun in their eyes during the whole of the first part of the day, and the Christians issuing forth, and meeting the enemy under the walls. After spending some time in fruitless and bloody combats,§ Saladin determined to change his point of attack, and occupied the high grounds in the neighbourhood of the gate of St. Stephen, and that of Josaphat,|| extending his position up the Mount of Olives,

* Bernard the Treasurer.

† Ibn-alatir.

‡ Rudolphus of Coggeshall.

§ Emadeddin.

|| It has been asserted by a modern author, that the last and successful attack of Saladin, after the first had failed, was made upon the northern wall of Jerusalem. The whole passage is erroneous, and all the places that he puts upon the

whence his military engines could cast missiles into all the neighbouring streets, except those which were arched over. The sufferings of the people of Jerusalem now became terrible. Hemmed in on every side, with no postern which could give them exit to attack the enemy in the field, all that they could hope was to defend the walls to the best of their power; but the commanding situation which Saladin at this time occupied soon rendered their efforts fruitless. The very next day after this change of plan had taken place, twelve great machines were playing against the city, and early in the morning the army of the Turks advanced to the assault in three columns, bearing pavisses before them, with the miners and the men-at-arms in the front, while the archers followed, covering the attack by flights of arrows, so thick that not a man dared remain upon the walls.* The Abbot of Coggeshall was here struck by an arrow in the face, and though the wood was withdrawn, the iron head of the weapon was buried in the flesh for life. No one could lift a finger above the parapet without receiving an injury, and the number of wounded was so great that the hospitals could scarcely contain them. In two days fifteen toises of the wall were mined, and it became clear that a practicable breach would soon be made, so that there being no hope of succour from without, the place could not be considered as tenable.

A hasty and anxious consultation of the chief persons in the city was then held, when all the knights, the men-at-arms, and even the citizens, agreed that it would be better to issue forth during the night and attack the camp of Saladin sword in hand, than either to surrender the city, or to await the

north were upon the south and west of Jerusalem. The valley Josaphat, according to William of Tyre, lib. viii., is to the east of Jerusalem. Stretching thence to the south is the valley of Ennom, or Gehennom, with the town of Gehennom, or Gehinnom, as the author I speak of calls it, on the south-west; the gate of St. Stephen, to the north-west of the town, was the northernmost point of Saladin's second position, which ran round thence by the south completely to the east, occupying part of the Mount of Olives, about a mile eastward of the valley of Josaphat; and the point of the wall which was thrown down was to the south-west instead of being to the north. Ibn-alatir does not mention this change of attack, but speaks generally of the wall being mined and a breach effected. Bernard the Treasurer, however, states the fact distinctly, and is confirmed by Mogireddin, who declares that the breach was effected on the south, not far from the brook Cedron.

* Bernard the Treasurer. Rudolphus of Coggeshall: *digitum ad propugnacula sine læsione ostendere non poterat.*

attack of the infidel within the walls. The patriarch, Heraclius, however, was opposed to this counsel, and he found means to touch the hearts of the inhabitants by representing that though they might die gloriously in such a daring enterprise, their wives and children would fall victims to Mahommedan licentiousness, and while they gave up life for the cross of Christ, those they loved best would become slaves of the infidel and the followers of Mahommed.* At the same time, it would appear, the principal leaders in the garrison discovered that there was treachery within the city. A great number of the citizens belonged to the Greek Church, and had never ceased more or less to regard the kingdom of Jerusalem as a dependency of the imperial crown of Constantinople, viewing the Latins with jealousy and hatred. These Greek Christians, who were called Melkites, or royalists, had opened, it would seem, a communication with the sultan by means of one of their brethren, who had long before attached himself to Saladin; and if we may trust the Arabic history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, they had even agreed to open the gates of the city to the Mussulman army, and to aid in the massacre of the Franks.

Nothing was left then but to capitulate, and no time was to be lost. A deputation was immediately sent to Saladin, asking what terms he would grant; but the sultan fiercely replied, "I will act towards the Christians as the Christians acted towards the Mussulmans when they took the Holy City. I will put the men to the sword, and of the rest I will make slaves. I will give them evil for evil."†

This answer struck terror into the hearts of the inhabitants, and Balian of Ibelin, conscious of the influence his high character gave him, undertook the difficult task of bringing the sultan to more humane views. The safe conduct which he required to speak with Saladin in person was immediately granted; and he set forth to fulfil his mission; but the proceedings of the siege were not suspended for a moment; and while he was absent, the stakes, which supported the portion of the wall that had been undermined, were fired by the Mussulmans, and a large extent of the south-western wall,

* Rudolphus of Coggeshall speaks very severely of those who advised a capitulation.

† Ibn-alatir.

over against the valley of Gehennom, fell with a sound like thunder. The Mahommedans instantly rushed to the assault, and for some time the banners of Islamism floated over the breach. By a vigorous effort, however, towards the close of the day,* the Franks drove back the enemy; and an offer of fifty thousand bezants was made by the patriarch and others to any fifty men-at-arms who would undertake to guard the breach during the night. But no one was found to accept the task.

It would appear that, upon his first visit to Saladin, Balian of Ibelin was unsuccessful; but on the following day he returned to Saladin again, and had recourse to prayers and entreaties. These also proved unavailing; and then the gallant knight, assuming another tone, addressed the Mahomedan conqueror in a speech every way remarkable, which has been preserved by Ibn-alatir, whose account is confirmed by various other Arabian historians:†

“Know, oh sultan,” he said, “that within those walls our number is so infinite, that God alone can calculate it. The inhabitants are unwilling to fight, because they expect a capitulation such as you have granted to so many others. They fear death, and cling to life; but if once death is inevitable, I swear by God, who hears us, that we will kill our wives and our children, and burn up our wealth, not leaving you a bezant. You will find no women to bring into slavery, no men to cast into irons; we will destroy all the holy places; we will slaughter the five thousand Mussulmans who are captives in our hands; we will not leave even a beast of burden in the place. We will go forth against you; we will fight as those who fight for life alone; and for one of us who perishes, many of yours shall fall. We will die free, or we will triumph gloriously.”

Saladin was struck and surprised, and after a short consultation with his emirs, he consented to treat for the capitulation of the city. The terms were then soon arranged:—For all the ordinary classes of citizens, whether rich or poor, a ransom was agreed upon at the rate of ten pieces of gold for each man, five for each woman, and two for each child. Every one who could discharge the sum fixed for his ransom at once,

* Bernard the Treasurer.

† Jalaeddin al Siuti gives the same account in his verbose and inflated style.

was permitted to pass free whithersoever he would. But forty days were allowed for the rest to procure the money, and those who could not do so before the expiration of that term were to become prisoners. Eighteen thousand souls, however, were excepted from these conditions, as the reputed poor of the city, and for the redemption of these, Balian of Ibelin generously bound himself to pay thirty thousand pieces of gold.

These conditions being arranged, and the treaty signed, the gates of Jerusalem were thrown open to the sultan, and the Mussulman standard was planted on the walls on the 2nd of October, 1187.* Joy spread through the whole of Islamism at the news; and from the farthest corners of his mighty empire Saladin saw the faithful followers of the prophet flock to behold the great work he had consummated, and to offer him their congratulations upon a result so glorious for their religion.

The sultan afterwards turned his arms to the reduction of the few places which still held out in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and to the conquest of the other Christian principalities in Syria. But the gallant resistance of Tyre, and the further progress of the war, will be related at an after period; the fall of Jerusalem itself being the event which principally moved the feelings, and the hope of its recovery the object which stimulated the exertions, of the Christians of Europe at the accession of Richard I. to the throne of England.

The great expedition projected by the Kings of France and England for the deliverance of the Holy Land from the yoke of Saladin, promised at the outset to be conducted with a degree of harmony of feeling and unity of design which had been wanting in every previous crusade. The two monarchs displayed the greatest cordiality towards each other, and the news of Richard's advance into Normandy for the purpose of fulfilling his engagement with the French sovereign, was hailed with joy by all Philip's subjects, whose passions were now turned from the late contest between the two kingdoms to the more chivalrous and inspiring objects

* The Arabian and Latin historians differ greatly as to the length of time that the siege of Jerusalem lasted. But this is easily accounted for, though Ibn-alatir makes it four days and the Christians fifteen or more. It would appear that the Arab only looks upon the siege as having begun on the day when the military machines began to batter the walls on the south and west sides of the city.

of the present expedition. From the great military abilities of both the kings, from the vast resources afforded by their territories, and from the unanimity which reigned between them, the utmost success was anticipated; but in the midst of preparations and rejoicings, a man was found bold enough, we are told, to reprove the faults of one of these mighty princes, at the outset of an undertaking, the brilliancy of which dazzled the eyes of Europe, and rendered men blind to the various perilous elements which existed in the alliance between Richard and Philip.

At Rouen one of the English king's first acts was to listen to the preaching of the famous Fulke of Neuilly, one of the most eloquent advocates of the crusade. Towards the end of his discourse, however, Fulke addressed himself directly to the king, exclaiming, "Thou hast three dangerous daughters, oh, prince! who are leading thee to the brink of a precipice."

"Thou art mistaken, hypocrite," said Richard, aloud; "I have no daughters."

"Yes, thou hast," replied Fulke; "Pride, Avarice, and Lasciviousness;" upon which the king, turning round to his peers, exclaimed, "Well, then, I give my pride to the Templars and Hospitallers, my avarice to the Cistercian monks, and my lasciviousness to the prelates of the Church."* From all the accounts of the day, there is every reason to believe that the satirical answer of the king was even more just than the reproof of the preacher.

Shortly after Christmas an interview took place between Richard and Philip, at the ford of St. Remi, where the first arrangements were made for the order of their expedition and for the safety of their territories during their absence. Oaths were taken, and treaties drawn up, binding the two monarchs to perpetual amity and mutual defence. Each swore to the other that he would guard the dominions of his ally as his own, and the great nobles of both kingdoms entered into a similar engagement. The prelates of France

* This story is told somewhat differently by Bromton, who places the reproof addressed to the king in the mouth of the Archbishop of Rouen, at the period when Richard was upon his death-bed. There is so much improbability, however, in this account, that I have preferred the statement of Knyghton. In the *Life of Philip Augustus*, written by M. Capefigue, and crowned by the Institute, the story as I have given it is wrongly attributed to Bromton.

and England confirmed and sanctioned the vow, holding out the threat of ecclesiastical censure against any one by whom it should be broken. As the preparations of neither monarch, however, were complete, the period at which the union of their two armies was appointed to take place was adjourned from Easter to Midsummer, and it was further arranged that if either of the kings died during the crusade, his ally was to inherit his treasure, to assume the command of his army, and employ both in the recovery of the Holy Land. The monarchs then separated; and Richard proceeded to take measures for securing the internal peace of his various dominions; but in all acts having reference to England, the king showed a degree of weakness and vacillation difficult to be accounted for, except upon the supposition which many persons entertained at the time, that he never intended to return to Europe.

Already violent dissensions had broken out between the Bishops of Durham and Ely, in regard to the exercise of the immense power with which their sovereign had entrusted them; and those two prelates, as well as the queen-mother, Prince John, and Geoffrey, his natural brother, now Archbishop elect of York, were summoned into Normandy, where a great council was held for the arrangement of the affairs of England. In order to prevent any further conflict between the powers of Pusey and Longchamp, Richard restricted the rule of the former as high justiciary to the district lying between the Humber and the Scottish border, while the whole of the rest of the realm was consigned to the government of the Bishop of Ely. At the same time, doubting the ambitious character of his brother John, and suspecting, apparently without much cause, some sinister designs on the part of Geoffrey, the king exacted an oath from both that they would not return to England without his permission for three years from that time. Scarcely, however, had he taken this precautionary measure, before, at the intercession of his mother, Eleanor, he released John from his vow, and instead of compelling him to take the cross, and thus remove him from the scene of temptation, he suffered him to return to England and pursue his machinations unopposed.*

* Bromton. Benedict Abbas. Hoveden. Richard of Devizes says, that John was only allowed to return to England under the superintendence of the chancellor,

It would be tedious and uninteresting to the reader to notice in this place all the various acts performed by the King of England preparatory to his expedition to the Holy Land. He visited several parts of his continental dominions, provided for their safe custody during his absence, and endeavoured to conciliate by various donations both the regular clergy and the religious communities, whom he too often outraged by his satirical discourse; but at the same time he did not in any degree neglect the military preparations which were necessary to ensure success to his arms; and while at Tours, he caused every sort of engine to be prepared or collected which was used in the warfare of that day. The multitudes who flocked to his standard were so great that the city of Tours was unable to contain them,* and the highways were crowded with soldiery. At Tours also the English monarch received from the hands of the archbishop the pilgrim's staff and wallet; but while leaning on the former, we are told, it broke under his weight, affording to his superstitious followers an evil augury of the result of his expedition, but in no degree checking the enthusiasm or confidence of the king.†

One of the chief causes of those lamentable disasters which had befallen the Christian forces in former crusades was the want of all law and regularity, too frequently to be observed in the armies of feudal times. Another was the treacherous enmity of the Greek emperors; and the impediments which had been thrown in the way of Frederic Barbarossa in the preceding year, served to show that the sovereigns of the eastern empire were as little to be trusted as at the period of the first crusade. To guard against the latter danger, and also to avoid the evils of a long march through a considerable part of Asia, the Kings of France and England had resolved to proceed by sea from two points not very distant from each other on the shores of the Mediterranean; and a fleet had been already collected to transport the English army to the scene of its future operations. During Richard's sojourn at Tours the commanders of the royal navy received orders to pass the Straits of Gibraltar, and meet the monarch

William Longchamp, and that the period of his residence in this country was entirely to depend upon the chancellor's will.

* Vinesauf.

† Hoveden.

and his land forces at Marseilles; but delays and difficulties occurred in the execution of the king's commands, the result of which I shall have to notice hereafter. In order to ensure better discipline and regularity amongst his own forces than had previously appeared in the armies of the cross, Richard, some time prior to the commencement of his march for the place of general rendezvous, appointed five persons, of whom two were bishops, to the supreme command in his fleet, and promulgated a code of laws to be observed during the expedition.

The punishments assigned by this capitulary are worthy of notice, though marked by the barbarism of the age. If a man killed another while on board ship, he was to be bound to the dead body, and cast into the sea. If the murder were committed on land, he was to be buried alive with the dead. If any one was convicted of having drawn his knife for the purpose of wounding another, or of having struck a crusader to the effusion of blood, he was to lose his hand; but if the blow was not followed by blood, he was to be thrice plunged into the sea. As often as any one used opprobrious language, or unjustly reproached another, he was to be fined an ounce of silver. A convicted robber was doomed to be shaved, tarred, and feathered, and set on shore at the first port where the vessel might touch; and a general order was added, that all persons during the voyage were to obey the commanders appointed by the king as they would the monarch himself.*

The dry and succinct chroniclers of that age content themselves in general with stating isolated facts, without affording explanations regarding motives, or pointing out the links of connexion between one event and another. Thus we find transactions taking place at this time, the natural tendency of which would apparently have been to create disunion between the sovereigns of England and France, but which produced no such result when they occurred. Summoned with Prince John, the chancellor and others, to the presence of her son, Eleanor of Aquitaine, when she visited Richard in his continental dominions, brought with her the unhappy Princess Adelais,† the sister of the French monarch, the promised bride of the young King of England, and the

* Bromton. This brief code is dated from Chinon.

† She is as frequently called Alice or Alais.

reputed concubine of his deceased father. What was the object of such a proceeding we have no means of ascertaining; but the probable result was undoubtedly to raise at once the discussion of questions in regard to which difficulties presented themselves on all sides. It was impossible that the marriage of Richard and Adelais could take place: it was improbable that Philip would pass over the injury done to his sister, and the insult offered to his race, without some reparation; and whether Eleanor's object was to induce the French monarch to receive back the unhappy girl who had been entrusted to the dangerous guardianship of Henry II., and to consent to the dissolution of all ties between her and Richard, or whether, having in view the alliance which she afterwards negotiated for her son, she brought over Adelais in order to substantiate clearly the facts of her intrigue with his father, the step was certainly a most dangerous one at the moment when it was taken. It is evident, however, that no direct communication was at this time made to Philip of his sister's connexion with Henry; for the first occasion on which we find that the subject was brought under his notice presented itself during the residence of the two kings in Sicily; and Adelais, it would appear, returned to England without anything having been settled in regard to her future destiny.* Another point which remains unaccounted for in the history of the English monarch, is the extraordinary degree of favour to which Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, had risen in a few months. All the historians of the day pronounce but one opinion of his character and his demerits. He had already displayed the most grasping ambition, without either conduct or ability, and yet, in addition to the important offices which he already held—namely, those of justiciary and chancellor, he now received from Rome, at the king's earnest solicitation, legatine powers over the whole of Great Britain.† Authority more extensive than that of a king, for it extended over all ecclesiastical as well as secular affairs, was thus entrusted to him during Richard's absence; and had his talents been equal to his ambition, he would have had but little difficulty

* Hoveden, 664, 668.

† Ricardus Divisiensis. Hoveden says merely, that Longchamp was appointed legate for England and Scotland; but Richard of Devizes expressly adds Wales and Ireland.

in making himself completely master of a country whose monarch was afar, and whose nobles had abandoned her.

During the interval which had been thus occupied by the King of England in arrangements which, if we except the military regulations above mentioned, deserve little praise either for discernment or equity, Philip of France had not been idle in preparing his kingdom for his absence, or his armies for the expedition before them. A great domestic calamity had befallen that prince in the loss of his first wife, Isabella ;* and it is probable, from the words used by various historians, that this event not alone caused a change in his purposes regarding the custody of the kingdom of France during his crusade, but even for a time shook his resolution of visiting the Holy Land. It would seem certain that the French prince had intended to confide the Regency of France to his wife ; but being now deprived of her by death, he entrusted that high office, together with the guardianship of his son, to his mother and his uncle the Cardinal of Champagne ; and in an assembly of his nobles at Poissy he published a sort of ordonnance which was in some degree to have the effect of a will in case of his death during the crusade. By it a new system of administering justice was instituted, provision was made for the election of prelates and pastors, and a curious proviso is inserted, that in such cases the regent should be guided by Bernard the Hermit of Vincennes. The disposition of the royal treasure in case of the king's death was then regulated ; and the consent of his nobles was obtained to the arrangements he had made. In all his proceedings, Philip displayed that political foresight which, though affected at this time by the ardour and enthusiasm of youth, and mingled at all periods of his life with hasty and unscrupulous passions, was one of the chief characteristics of that monarch. Richard, on the contrary, though he evinced considerable sagacity in all military affairs, and, in many instances, that keen knowledge of human nature which should have led to wiser conduct, afforded a lamentable instance of the dangers to which a sovereign exposes himself in yielding to any impetuous desire, or giving way to the

* Rigordus calls this princess Elizabeth, and says she died on the 15th of March, 1190.

impulses of an eager and vehement disposition. The English monarch as a soldier, a knight, and a commander, was far superior to his ally ; but as a politician and a sovereign, Philip was undoubtedly one of the greatest princes of his age.

At length the day of St. John, appointed for the rendezvous of the two armies on the plains of Vezelai, approached, and about the same period the French and English kings set out from Paris and from Tours, and soon found themselves at the head of one of the most numerous and best equipped hosts which had ever taken its way towards the Holy Land. All authors agree that when assembled for the first time, the armies of England and France comprised more than one hundred thousand regular soldiers, besides an immense multitude of attendants and camp-followers, while the numbers of both were daily increasing. Every sort of figure is employed by the various monkish writers to describe the splendour of the scene displayed by the camp. The extent is compared to a new city, the banners which fluttered in the air to flowers and butterflies. The gay dresses of the pilgrim warriors were further enlivened by the different colours of the crosses borne by the different nations ; the Flemings displaying the emblem of their enterprise in green, the English in white, and the French in red. The utmost harmony and unanimity prevailed, and the proximity of the supposed tomb of Mary Magdalene to their first place of meeting inflamed still further than before the superstitious enthusiasm of the allied hosts.

No long delay, however, was made on the plains of Vezelai, no time was allowed for ostentatious display or luxurious feasting, and after a halt of two days, spent principally in conferences, having for their object the establishment of order and discipline in the armies, the two sovereigns marched onward to Lyons, where the first disaster occurred which they were destined to meet with. The wooden bridge over the Rhone, crowded with people from the neighbouring city, all eager to witness the passage of the crusaders, gave way under the heavy horses and arms of one of the leading bodies of cavalry, and an immense number of persons, men, women, and children, perished in the stream.* Several days were

* Hoveden

spent in repairing the injury, and passing the troops,* and it is probable that this accident, and the difficulty of finding provisions and accommodation during any length of time, for so numerous a force, determined the French and English monarchs to separate. Richard of Devizes hints with a sneer that the French selected the longer land journey, from their distaste to the sea;† but the extent of the voyage was not much diminished, and the difficulties of the journey very much increased, by Philip's selection of Genoa as his port of embarkation, while Richard, marching on down the valley of the Rhone, advanced to meet his navy at Marseilles. Before the two monarchs separated, however, some further regulations were published for the better government of the army, and all women were strictly prohibited from following the crusading force, with the exception of a certain number of washerwomen, and others upwards of fifty years of age: a somewhat satirical comment upon the excesses which had taken place in previous expeditions. A new rendezvous was given at Messina, and everything seemed to promise that Richard would reach the place of meeting first; but a fresh difficulty presented itself on the monarch's arrival at Marseilles. The English fleet had not yet appeared off the port, and for eight days Richard remained, waiting impatiently for its arrival. His forces, however, were considerably increased during his stay by a multitude of crusaders who had preceded the march of the main army, and who, having spent their whole substance in Marseilles, flocked to the court of the king to offer their services. Many of these were retained, apparently as hired soldiers, by the English sovereign; and, after having visited several remarkable spots in the neighbourhood of the city, Richard gave way to his impatience, and determined to put to sea with a part of his army, leaving the rest to follow with the fleet.‡ Ten busses and twenty galleys§ were easily engaged in the port, and on the 7th of

* Vinesauf. This author declares that the bridge over the Rhone did not break till after the departure of the King of France for Genoa, and that it was Richard who repaired the bridge for the passage of his army.

† Mare Nauseans.

‡ Bromton. Hoveden. Vinesauf. There is a remarkable discrepancy between Richard of Devizes and all other authors in regard to the non-arrival of Richard's fleet.

§ Doctor Henry says three busses and twenty galleys, but Hoveden, Bromton, and others, state the number as I have given it.

August, 1190, the monarch set sail, greatly troubled, we are told, and confounded by the delay of his naval force.

The course pursued by the king, in his voyage to Messina, was along the coast of Italy, and after passing several other places, he touched at Genoa, where he held a conference with the King of France, who was then lying ill in a palace near the church of St. Laurence. At more than one town on the shores of the Mediterranean, Richard not only landed, but spent several days, probably calculating that the illness of the King of France, who remained for some time at Genoa, would enable him to reach Messina first. At the mouth of the Tiber, where the English monarch rested for two nights and a day, he was visited by Octavian, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. The motive of the cardinal's coming, and the reception which he met with, are very differently stated by the authors of the time. By one account, the object of his visit would seem to have been merely to invite the King of England to visit Rome, which Richard excused himself from doing; but, from the statement of Hoveden and others, it would appear that his purpose was to obtain payment of certain dues claimed by the pontifical court,* to his application for which the crusading prince replied, by a charge of simony, and a good deal of abuse of the Pope and his court, positively refusing to visit Rome, and proceeding on his way without any exchange of courtesy with the pontiff.

At Naples and at Salernum, the King of England remained for some time, and at the latter city two of the principal English crusaders, Hugh Bishop of Salisbury, and Ranulph de Glanville, left their great leader, and preceded him to Acre. We have no means of judging whether Richard had left orders for his fleet after its arrival at Marseilles to join him at Salernum, but it is certain that he waited in that city till he received intelligence that the great navy which he had collected in the ports of England and France, had reached the Sicilian city, with the forces which he had left be-

* Hoveden does not exactly say that this was the object of the cardinal's coming, but leaves the reader to imply that such was the case, from the answer made by the King of England. Matthew Paris, on the contrary, gives one to understand that the mission of the cardinal was merely one of courtesy, and that Richard replied, in his usual rough and hasty manner, imputing to the pontifical court several acts of simony already committed.

hind. He then proceeded, sometimes by sea, sometimes by land, along the coast of Calabria, and had nearly lost his life in a tumult, while walking through one of the small Italian villages, with a single attendant. It would appear that Richard himself provoked the assault, by attempting to possess himself of a hawk or eagle belonging to one of the peasantry, from the consequences of which rash act nothing but his own great strength and courage saved himself and his companion. He showed more moderation, however, in his defence than his previous conduct had displayed, contenting himself with using the flat side of his sword till he reached a place of shelter. He then speedily regained his ships, and passing the straits, reached Messina on the 23rd of September, 1190.*

The first fleet which reached the Sicilian capital was that of England, consisting of a hundred galleys and fourteen large busses, ships of great size, though rudely constructed. Immense stores of provisions, arms, and money, horses, cattle, sheep, and other live stock, were contained in these vessels, and the decks were covered with men-at-arms, banners, and pennons;† but it would appear that the Sicilians, notwithstanding such an imposing force, took advantage of the king's absence to annoy the troops which had preceded him, by

* Hoveden. Bromton. Richard of Devizes. A little work which has been lately published on the life of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, states that that prince "was fortunate enough to fall in with his fleet at Salerno, from which place they proceeded to Messina." I do not know any authority for this assertion. Hoveden says "that Richard left Salerno" when he heard his fleet had come to Messina. Vinesauf, who was of the expedition, declares, that the king and his great fleet made the whole voyage separate; and Bromton, with very little deviation from the account of Hoveden, informs us that the fleet, separated from Richard, arrived at Messina on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, otherwise the 14th of September, whereas Richard did not reach that city till the 23rd.

† Richard of Devizes gives a curious description of these ships, and the whole of the account of the voyage, both as furnished by that author, by Hoveden, and Vinesauf, is well worth the study of any one who takes an interest in the early history of the British navy. The detail here would occupy too much space; but we find that each galley was furnished with thirty oars, thirteen anchors, and three rudders, as well as two sails. Each carried forty men-at-arms, forty horses, forty foot soldiers, fifteen sailors, and provisions for an entire year, both for men and chargers; each of the busses had a double burden. If we are to trust to this account, the king's fleet must have brought to the shores of Sicily not more than eleven thousand soldiers, but other information shows that this calculation is very inaccurate. During the storm which separated the English fleet, several of the leaders were visited by St. Thomas à Becket, who bade them not fear, as he had taken them under his protection, and was the patron of their enterprise.

every sort of insult, in some cases proceeding to actual assault. It is probable, however, that the insolence of the crusaders might have given some provocation, although the only accounts which we possess of the transaction, coming from the armed pilgrims themselves, make but slight mention of such a fact.*

The next armament that arrived at the Sicilian city was that of Philip King of France, which, it would seem, had been greatly shattered by a severe storm which the fleet encountered on the coast of Sicily. A number of horses, and the greater part of the provisions, had been thrown into the sea to lighten the vessels; and it is probable that the *appearance* of the French force was not so brilliant on its arrival at Messina as to make any very great impression on the mind of the citizens. Philip, however, who had shown great presence of mind, courage, and activity, during the tempest, distributed a considerable part of his treasure amongst the soldiery to compensate for their losses, and the French troops as well as their monarch were received by the Sicilians with hospitality and kindness, though a very different reception was prepared for Richard and his army.

The presence of such multitudes as were now flocking to Messina might well inspire some alarm in the mind of the King of Sicily, and induce him to follow the example of the eastern emperors, who, as I have shown, had endeavoured to cause divisions between the leaders of previous crusades, and to support themselves against their more dangerous guests by alliances with others less formidable. In choosing between the monarchs of France and England, Tancred, now King of Sicily, was not only guided by the prior arrival of Philip, but by several other causes which combined to make him seek the amity of the French prince as a protection against the just or unjust demands of Richard. His own power in Sicily was held by a very precarious tenure, and Richard of England had more than one cause of reasonable complaint against the Sicilian prince, even before he set his foot on the shores of Tancred's dominions. On the death of William II. of Sicily, who had obtained the hand of the Princess Joan of England, sister of the reigning monarch, the Sicilian throne devolved, it would seem of right, to Con-

* Vinesauf.

stancia, now the wife of the Emperor Henry, who had lately succeeded his father, Frederic. Tancred, however, who is generally stated to have been a natural son of Roger, Duke of Apulia, cousin of William II. and last male of the Norman line, usurped the throne of Sicily, and obtained the recognition of the court of Rome, to the exclusion of Constancia and her heirs. So far the King of England suffered no injury; but Tancred, fearing the influence of the young Queen Joan in his dominions, had caused her to be arrested, and strictly imprisoned in Palermo. Requiring wealth as well as skill to maintain himself in power, he neglected or refused to pay the dowry of the princess, and withheld a legacy which William II. had left on his death-bed to Henry of England.

These circumstances rendered the approach of the English monarch, at the head of a large army, an event of no slight importance and peril to the King of Sicily; and Tancred immediately took advantage of the early arrival of Philip to win him to his interests, and to secure a mediator, if not an ally. The French troops were immediately received into Messina itself, and conferences took place between their sovereign and Tancred, who offered, we are told, an immense sum of money to Philip, if he would consent to affiance his son, Louis, to one of the daughters of the Sicilian usurper.* It is probable, that in this proposal, Tancred had in view not only to secure protection against the vengeance of the English king, but by a powerful alliance to strengthen himself in Sicily against the pretensions of Constancia and her husband. Philip, however, wisely avoided the snare, foreseeing, that if he suffered himself to contract such intimate relations with a prince whose position was both dangerous and doubtful, he might be plunged, in his defence, into long and sanguinary hostilities, without the prospect of any benefit to France or to himself. Nevertheless, the attentions which he met with, the abundant supply of provisions which he immediately received, the frank and unhesitating admission into Messina which was granted to his troops, and the flattering conferences which followed with the King of Sicily, were assuredly not without effect in winning his friendship for his entertainer; and in the after dissensions which took place

* Rigordus.

between Richard and Tancred, Philip always appeared acting rather as the ally of the Sicilian than of the English monarch.

At length, on the 23rd day of September, the fleet which conveyed Richard and the portion of his army which had accompanied him from Marseilles, was seen from the coast of Sicily, steering towards Messina, with a favourable wind and under an unclouded sky. It would seem, that since his departure from the French port with ten large vessels and twenty galleys, the armament of the king had been greatly increased by ships of various tonnage which had joined by the way; for on his appearance off Messina, his fleet is described as very numerous, comprising many large vessels, besides busses and galleys.* Unlike the King of France, whose navy had been shattered by a storm, and a great part of whose stores had been thrown overboard in the tempest, Richard of England appeared in all the pomp and splendour of military array, his decks crowded with barons, knights, and men-at-arms, glistening with polished armour, and fluttering with innumerable banners, pennons, and banderols. The sea, we are told by one who witnessed his arrival, foamed with the oars of his galleys; the ears of those who were collected on the beach to watch his approach were deafened with the sounds of his trumpets and clarions, and their eyes dazzled with the light of his shields. The fame of his military exploits had long preceded him; and all were anxious to behold one who had already acquired the reputation of the greatest military commander of his day. It is more than probable, however, that tales of hasty violence had likewise reached Sicily before him, and that they now mingled fear with the admiration which was excited by the magnificent display of his fleet as it swept into the port of Messina.

An immense number, both of the inhabitants of the island and of the pilgrims who had preceded the English monarch, waited on the shore to receive him. The clergy and nobles of the city were there, the barons of France and Burgundy; and Philip himself came down to meet his brother monarch and congratulate him on his safe arrival.

Some accounts state, that Tancred also appeared to receive his royal guest, but the great majority of historians do not

* Hoveden.

mention the presence of the Sicilian prince ; and after events render it extremely improbable that he should perform an act of courtesy which was not without its danger, and was belied by his subsequent conduct.

The English monarch and his friends were greeted with every appearance of joy by the French, and with loud acclamations by the Sicilian populace, who, attracted by the magnificence of Richard's host and the grace and majesty of his demeanour, pronounced him at once worthy of an imperial crown. Philip himself testified towards his ally the greatest friendship and regard, and a long conference took place between the two kings on the shore, after which the French monarch embarked his troops immediately, and prepared to set sail for Palestine.* Contrary winds, however, met him in the strait ; and, unfortunately for all parties, he returned to Messina, resolved to pass the winter in Sicily.

Richard, after landing, took up his abode in a house which had been prepared for him amongst the vineyards in the neighbourhood of the city, belonging to Reginald de Muhec, or de Muschet ; and one of his first acts, we are told, was to raise a gallows opposite the door of his dwelling as a terror to offenders.† The administration of justice was delegated to several judges, with orders to spare neither crusaders nor Sicilians who might be convicted of robbery in the camp ; and the same author from whom we derive this statement informs us likewise, that these commands were strictly carried into execution by the officers of the English monarch, while the King of France, in a more lenient and perhaps more politic spirit, passed over, both in his own troops and in the natives of the country, many offences which were severely punished by Richard. The opposite conduct of the two princes obtained for the one the name of the Lamb, and for the other the name of the Lion, from the Sicilians.

The two following days after Philip's return to Sicily were spent by the allied sovereigns in mutual visits and conferences. The subjects of each mingled with their fellow-crusaders in the most perfect amity, as if, says the historian,

* Hoveden. Bromton. Diceto. Richard of Devizes says, that the two kings remained in conference till the evening ; but all other authors agree that the King of France set sail, as I have said, on the day of Richard's arrival.

† Richard of Devizes.

so many thousand men were all of one heart and one mind. But this good understanding was not destined to endure, and the quarrels which soon occurred between the English and the Messinese, had very nearly terminated in a total rupture between France and England.*

Hardly had Richard reached the shore of Sicily, when he sent messengers to Tancred, demanding the liberation of his sister, the payment of her dowry, and the execution of the will of William the Good. The Sicilian monarch, who was now at Palermo, did not venture to detain the queen any longer in prison, and accordingly he sent her immediately to Messina, but with a small array, and with no satisfactory answer to Richard's demands, either in regard to her dowry, or to the legacy left to Henry II. The King of England himself went out to meet his sister, and led her to the house of the Knights of St. John, where a lodging had been prepared for her. On the following day she was visited by the King of France, who seemed much struck with her beauty and misfortunes; and the barons, both of France and England, somewhat hastily concluded that a nearer alliance would speedily take place between the monarchs of the two countries.†

Whether Tancred absolutely refused to pay the dower of Joan, and the legacy left by William, or whether he merely attempted to evade the demand, we do not exactly know. Vinesauf says, that he gave a dubious answer, encouraged to such a course by the King of France; but that writer shows so much animosity towards Philip, and is so strongly opposed in his statements, both regarding the order and the character of these events, by writers who were in no degree inimical to Richard, that I am not disposed to receive his testimony in matters where his passions were concerned.‡ Whatever was

* It were endless to point out all the errors, great and small, which are to be found in the account of this crusade, by Mills, and in the history of Richard, by Berington, and those who have followed the latter. The principal mistakes I may briefly mark, but the innumerable lesser misstatements I must pass over without notice, though they often lead to inferences of a very erroneous kind.

† Bromton. Hoveden merely says, speaking of Philip and Joan, "Et videt eam, et gavisus est."

‡ The abbot of Peterborough, Hoveden, Bromton, and others, state the occurrences day by day; whereas Vinesauf gives them in a confused and irregular manner, which would seem to show that he had written his account long afterwards, when facts themselves might be remembered and their order forgotten.

the nature of Tancred's reply to the summons of the English king, Richard's fiery spirit would not brook delay or evasion; and hardly had his sister arrived, ere he took possession of two strong places in the neighbourhood of Messina: one an island fort, which apparently commanded the harbour; and another a strong edifice called the Monastery of "the Griffins," a name which would seem to have been given at that period to a part of the Sicilian population of mixed Saracen and European blood.* The monastery was immediately fortified by the King of England, and converted into a storehouse for the supply of his army; but these aggressions naturally not only irritated the Sicilians but alarmed them also, creating a suspicion that it was Richard's intention to make himself master of the whole island.† From these causes and many others, frequent disputes occurred between the inhabitants and the soldiery; and it is evident, although the English historians endeavour to disguise the fact, that various acts of violence and licentiousness were committed by the forces under the command of the lion-hearted monarch. The citizens of Messina accused the pilgrims of adultery with their wives, and a very suspicious story is told of a quarrel between one of the crusaders and a woman of the place, said to have been about a loaf of bread. Certain it is that her cries brought a number of her countrymen to her aid, and that a tumult took place, in which several of the English were injured. On another occasion, greater violence still was displayed on both parts. The citizens and soldiery flocked up in numbers to the scene of contention; the gates were closed against the English; the walls manned; and, excited to fury, the men-at-arms were marching, without order, to the attack of Messina, when news of the affray was carried to Richard, who, instantly rushing forth, drove back his troops, striking several persons with his leading staff. Not all the authority of the king was sufficient, however, to quell the tumult entirely, and the aspect of both parties was still very menacing, when,

* Such is stated to have been the descent of the Gryfons or Griffins by some of the historians of the crusade (Vinesauf), and it is not necessary in this place to investigate whether this notion is just or not. Other authors, however, declare that the name Griffin was applied to the Greek population of Sicily, Crete, and Calabria. There is some confusion amongst different authors as to the two points seized by Richard.

† Hoveden.

entering a boat, Richard hastened to confer with Philip, for the purpose of concerting measures to put an end to the dissensions which had arisen. It is not clearly proved that the troops of France had given any support to the citizens of Messina in their contest with the English crusaders: but there is every reason to believe that they had shown that degree of favour to the former which was well calculated to encourage them in their resistance; and, beyond all doubt, Richard, knowing his own hasty temper, was anxious to prevent anything like a collision between his own forces and those of Philip. While the two monarchs were in conference, however, several of the principal persons of Messina interfered successfully to allay the tumult, and induce both parties to retire.

On the following day, the 4th of October, four eminent Sicilian nobles and prelates, with several notable men of the city of Messina, visited the camp of the King of England, in company with the French monarch, and many of his great vassals, for the purpose of pacifying Richard, and removing the ill feeling which existed between his forces and the Messinese. The conferences were protracted during some hours, but in the mean time an immense multitude of the citizens congregated in arms upon the neighbouring mountains, menacing the camp of the English king. A party even attacked the quarters of Hugo le Brune; and the news being carried to Richard, he gave way to one of those furious bursts of anger which too frequently overpowered his better judgment. Starting from the council-table, he ordered his host to arm, and, at the head of a small body collected in haste, mounted the hills which the Sicilians had thought inaccessible from that side, and drove the Messinese force in confusion back into the city.

Not content with this speedy success, Richard ordered his whole army to advance to the attack of Messina.* Leading his troops himself, the English monarch forced the gates, scaled the walls, and planted his banner on the towers of the city, notwithstanding a vigorous resistance offered by the inhabitants, with the aid of the French forces quartered in the town. Five knights and twenty men-at-arms of Richard's household fell in the assault, and his irritated sol-

* Benedict Abbas.

diers undoubtedly committed a great deal of rapine and bloodshed, notwithstanding the strict commands of the king that all who submitted should be spared. The galleys in the port also were burned, and there is reason to believe that still more distressing and wanton outrages were perpetrated.* The terror inspired by this act of rigour suppressed all tendency to resistance on the part of the Sicilians;† but a greater danger arose from the appearance of the banner of England upon the walls of Messina, than that which had menaced Richard from the irritation of the populace. It is clear from every contemporary account, that Philip of France had shown a decided leaning to the Sicilians in all their disputes with the troops of the English monarch, and that a part of his soldiery, with or without his orders, had aided the Messinese in the defence of their walls.‡ Messina, however, it must be remarked, had been assigned to the King of France as his quarters in Sicily, and the sight of the standard of England floating upon the battlements of the city was certainly not consistent with his dignity. It is probable that gentle remonstrance, as soon as the turbulence of passion had subsided, would have easily induced Richard to remove the obnoxious symbol of conquest; but the tone taken by the King of France was not that which was likely to have any effect with the lion-hearted monarch. He demanded haughtily that Richard should take down his banner from the walls, and give up the custody of the gates to him as his sovereign lord;§ a title which could only be urged in

* *Mulieres quoque nobiliores sibi diripuerunt victores.* Vinesauf. The manner in which Mills relates these two events is as follows:—"Hatred broke out into open contest; the fray was checked by some of the chief citizens; it appeared again, but Plantagenet, with a few knights, finally quelled it. Philip Augustus had favoured the cause of the Sicilians, and the English monarch therefore regarded him as an enemy, and planted his standard on the quarters of the French."

† William of Newbury, whose work possesses more the character of a history than perhaps any other narrative of those times, mentions nearly all the facts which I have stated, and particularly points out that the French took a principal part in the defence of Messina against their English allies.

‡ Almost all accounts agree in the statement that the French assisted in the defence of the city, though Richard of Devizes marks particularly, that the King of England did not suffer his men to approach either the quarters of the French troops or the palace in which Philip had taken up his abode. For the statement of Mills, that the English monarch planted his standard in the quarters of the French, there is no authority whatever.

§ Vinesauf.

regard to the continental dominions of the English king. Richard's wrath, which had been appeased by his victory, was again excited in the very highest degree by this imprudent message; and, had it not been for the interposition of several of his wisest friends, he would have sent an answer, we are told, which must have produced instant hostilities between France and England. Richard consented, at the intercession of his councillors, that the standards of France and England should appear conjointly upon the walls of Messina,* and it would seem to have been likewise agreed that the custody of the gates should be entrusted to the Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital,† while efforts were made to induce the King of Sicily to enter into some arrangement satisfactory to the English sovereign, respecting the dower of Joan, and the legacy of William the Good.

The events which followed are very obscure; the statements made regarding them by various contemporaries being found to conflict at almost every point. The French historians afford but little information, generally passing over in silence Richard's attack upon Messina, and even Bernard the Treasurer only alluding to it vaguely. I should, under these circumstances, follow implicitly the statements of Vinesauf, were not his animosity towards the King of France so

* Vinesauf.

† Hoveden states the above facts, but adds, that Richard, to please the King of France, removed his banners. On this point, however, I think that Vinesauf, who was an eye-witness, may be trusted. William of Newbury attributes the enmity shown afterwards by the French king entirely to these events, and his words are very remarkable, especially in a writer of that age. They are as follows:—"Porro Rex Francorum urbis hospitæ irruptionem ad suam trahens injuriam, et pro nihilo ducens indulti hospitii gratiam, implacabilem contra Regem Anglorum concepit totisque imbibit medullis rancorem: qui nimirum occultatus pro tempore, erupit suo tempore, claruitque orbi terrarum, ut suo loco narrabitur." Guil. Neubrig. cap. xii.—I have relied very little upon the account of Richard of Devizes, in regard to the capture of Messina; in the first place, because I find his statements contradicted by other authors apparently better informed; and, in the next place, because his narrative is disfigured by a tone of bombast which casts upon it a strong suspicion of inaccuracy. The work is undoubtedly a very valuable one, and may, I think, be relied upon with far greater security in regard to events which took place in England or in the continental dominions of Richard, than in regard to matters affecting the monarch during his crusade, except respecting naval affairs. The same charge of bombast holds good against Vinesauf; but the latter being an eye-witness of most of the events he relates, carries more weight with him in regard to the history of the crusade than Richard of Devizes, whom we do not know to have been present.

apparent as to render his sincerity doubtful. The only means afforded by contemporaries for correcting his partial accounts are the slight indications to be found in Hoveden. From him we discover, that three days after the capture of the city, the Messinese sent hostages to the King of England for their peaceable behaviour, promising, at the same time, to give the town into his possession, unless the Sicilian monarch speedily satisfied the just claims of Richard. Certain it is, however, that the English sovereign did not rest contented with these pacific declarations, but began at once to erect a fortress in the neighbourhood of Messina, of such a height as to command the walls. To this he gave the name of *Mategriffin*, or *Kill Griffin*, in contempt of the people so called.

In estimating Richard's character, it would be desirable to know whether this offensive act was provoked by any fresh aggression on the part of the Sicilians. It is certain, that nearly at the same time an attempt was made to starve the English army in its camp, by refusing all supply of provisions; and Vinesauf places this occurrence before the construction of the castle I have mentioned.* I am inclined to believe that such was really the order of events; for we find that the negotiations which were opened with Tancred proceeded much more rapidly after this decided step had been taken by the King of England than before. Whether they were embarrassed by the secret and deceitful opposition of Philip, as some have asserted, or facilitated by his intercession, as others declare, they were brought more speedily to a conclusion than the magnitude of the claim might have led men to expect.†

The demand of Richard upon the King of Sicily, comprising the dower of his sister, and the legacy of William the Good to Henry II., amounted to the whole of the county and town of Mount St. Angelo, together with a great chair of gold, for the use of the dowager queen, a table of gold of twelve feet and a half in length, and a foot and a half in breadth, with two tripods of the same metal as trestles for

* Vinesauf, cap. xix. and xx.

† We find, by a letter from the King of England to the Pope, that the whole of the arrangements between Richard and Tancred were concluded before the 11th of November.

the table, a tent of silk under which two hundred knights might dine at once, twenty-four cups of silver, and twenty-four silver dishes, sixty thousand measures of wheat, and sixty thousand measures of barley, as many of wine, and a hundred armed galleys of the largest size, to serve the King of England for two years, with a complete equipage of men, and full stores for the specified period.*

The enormous extent of this claim rendered it impossible for the King of Sicily, however just it might be, to discharge such liabilities at a time when great expenses were absolutely necessary to maintain himself on the throne he had usurped. In the year when this demand was made, all the necessities of life were enormously dear in Sicily; for we find from Rigordus, that at this period the price of wheat at Messina was twenty-four sous of Anjou, for the measure of twelve bushels,† barley eighteen sous for the same quantity, wine fifteen sous per measure of two gallons, and a fowl twelve deniers, which the historian marks as peculiarly high;‡ and thus, to purchase the amount of corn and wine demanded, would have exhausted the treasury of the Sicilian monarch.

A compromise was therefore proposed, and, after various conferences, Richard, we are told by Hoveden, agreed to receive twenty thousand ounces of gold as satisfaction for the dowry of his sister, and a like sum, partly as an equivalent, for the legacy left by William the Good to King Henry II. of England, partly as the dowry of his daughter, affianced by the treaty to Arthur, nephew of the English monarch.§ The account of the Abbot of Peterborough, however, is somewhat different.

* Bromton, Benedict Abbas, Hoveden, &c. Richard of Devizes says that the cups and dishes were of gold. The exact size of the measure of wheat and wine referred to in the text I cannot rightly ascertain, as the word employed, *salines* or *silinas*, is a word of the middle ages, referring to a varying quantity.

† The word is thus translated by M. Guizot.

‡ It is very difficult to ascertain the exact value of the sous of Anjou at this period. There was undoubtedly a slight difference between it and the sous tournois, which was the fiftieth part of a mark of fine silver, and weighed ninety-two grains eight fiftieths (see Le Blanc, p. 161), or rather more in weight than a shilling of our days. But this, considering the ordinary rate of provisions at the time, would give such an enormous sum for the price of corn at Messina per quarter, that I cannot help thinking some mistake must have been made by Le Blanc in his calculation of the weight of a sous. The question, however, of the value of money at this time is exceedingly obscure.

§ Hoveden. The treaty mentions the dowry alone. Rymer, vol. i.

He, as well as Hoveden, declares that the King of Sicily asserted that a sum had been paid to Queen Joan in satisfaction of her dowry, before she joined Richard at Messina; and the abbot then goes on to state, that Tancred agreed to pay twenty thousand ounces of gold as an equivalent for the legacy of William the Good, and as the dowry of his own daughter. It is to be remarked, that neither in the letter of Richard to the Pope, announcing the treaty between himself and Tancred, nor in the treaty itself, as preserved by Hoveden,* is there any mention of a further sum of twenty thousand ounces of gold; but Hoveden distinctly asserts, in two places, that such a sum was given, over and above that mentioned in the treaty, and Rigordus, the historian of Philip, confirms this statement; declaring that forty thousand ounces were paid to the English king, of which one-third went into the treasury of the King of France. He declares also that Philip had a right to one-half, but upon what plea he does not condescend to state; nor is the foundation very perceptible for a claim to any part, except it be found in the efforts of the French prince to reconcile Richard and Tancred. For the honour of the crusading monarchs, it is to be hoped that there was no compact between them to extract a large sum from the fears of the Sicilian usurper, and to divide the booty, although such a suspicion naturally arises from the expressions used by Rigordus.

It was agreed between the English and Sicilian kings, that if, from any unforeseen circumstance, the marriage between Arthur and the infant princess should not be consummated, her dowry should be restored without cavil or delay; and the English monarch and his principal nobles swore not only to maintain peace with the King of Sicily, but also to aid in defending him against all enemies so long as they should remain in his dominions. In return, Tancred and his nobles took an oath to observe strictly their engagements to amity with Richard and his forces during the period of their sojourn, and

* The treaty between Richard and Tancred is couched in the most barbarous Latin of a barbarous age, and is, moreover, evidently full of errors of transcription, which greatly embarrass the sense. Hoveden's account of the whole matter is also very obscure, but I am inclined to think that it is substantially correct in the point where it differs from the treaty, as he takes particular pains to point out that the second sum of twenty thousand ounces was in addition to that mentioned in the convention.

the chief cause of dispute between the two kings being removed, it became undoubtedly the best policy of the Sicilian monarch to cultivate the friendship of so powerful an ally, rather than to expose himself to Richard's resentment at a moment when Apulia was actually invaded, and Sicily itself menaced by the forces of the Emperor Henry.

Not contented with naming his nephew Arthur as his heir, in the treaty above mentioned, in case of his own death without children, Richard, with a degree of anxiety which showed both his suspicion and dislike of his brother John, endeavoured to establish the title of the young Duke of Brittany to be considered as his presumptive successor, so as to put it beyond all after question, and also to form for him such connexions as would secure his easy accession in case of the throne becoming vacant. Although the historians of the time attribute to the Bishop of Ely's personal enmity towards John the negotiations which took place at this period for a strict alliance between the King of Scotland and the young Prince Arthur, I can myself entertain no doubt, from the various circumstances which accompanied the embassy to the Scottish monarch, that the envoys were despatched by Longchamp, in consequence of secret orders from Richard himself. The Chronicle of Mailros, without commenting upon this embassy, states distinctly, that Richard not only solemnly declared Arthur to be the heir of all his dominions, in case of his own decease without children, but that he caused his bishops, counts, and barons to recognise the young prince as such, and bound them to his cause by an oath.* The coincidence of the two acts would go far to establish the fact that the negotiations with the Scottish king were authorised by Richard, and it is not improbable that his continuous and strenuous support of the Bishop of Ely, long after his misconduct was sufficiently established, proceeded from political motives as well as personal favour. So long as Longchamp remained in power, the intrigues of John were

* Chron. de Mailros, ad ann. 1191. This Chronicle is exceedingly valuable, and it would seem to have been compiled with great care by the monks of Melrose, containing many curious particulars illustrative of events mentioned by other authors. The facts were apparently noted down by the abbots or monks as they took place, and in many passages we find a liberal and enlightened spirit not common amongst the recluses of that day.

restrained by the watchful eye of a personal enemy, and the rights of Arthur guarded by a jealous friend,* but in the end, the skill and cunning of the queen-mother, acting on behalf of her youngest and favourite son, proved more powerful against an unscrupulous and unwise minister than the favour of the absent Richard in his support.

Various other acts affecting England were performed by Richard during his stay at Messina; but that which is most worthy of notice is a wise and just ordinance of the king, by which he resigned for ever the iniquitous claim which all preceding monarchs had put forward to the goods contained in shipwrecked vessels. In the course of the month of October, the monarch, by a charter under his hand, pronounced what was called his *right of wreck* at an end, both in regard to the coast of England, and to those of his continental dominions; declaring, in the most formal manner, that if any one was found alive on board a vessel driven on shore, his goods and chattels could not be seized as a due of the crown, and that the heirs of a drowned person, according to their propinquity, might claim any property he possessed on board the shipwrecked vessel; but the right of heritage was restricted to sons or daughters, brothers or sisters, and, failing these, the crown seized as of right.† This was a great and important reform, and the first amelioration that I find in history of the barbarous and cruel system which terminated with the abolition of the *droit d'aubaine* in France.

A new code was enacted about the same time, by Richard, for the better maintenance of discipline on board his fleet; and though it displays in no inconsiderable degree the rudeness of the times, it affords a curious proof of the monarch's careful consideration and anxiety for the good of his subjects, which it must be confessed was not always to be found in his conduct towards them. He regulated the exchange of money, marking that four denarii of Anjou were to be received as one denarius of England. He endeavoured to prevent traders from taking any means of raising the price of bread or meat

* See note at the end of this book.

† Hoveden. Diceto. In Rymer, there is to be found a charter very nearly in similar terms, dated, by mistake, 20th Henry II. This date misled me for some time; but the names which are attached to the document have since shown me that it should have been placed under the 20th of Henry III.

in the army ; and he fixed the profits upon the sale of all kinds of merchandise at ten per cent. as the maximum. He forbade any person under the rank of a knight, who had engaged with a leader in the crusade, to withdraw from that leader's service, and strictly enjoined all commanders not to receive any follower of another without his consent. Gaming was prohibited to all the inferior persons of the army, but the vice was tolerated in the knights and clergy, with a restriction as to the amount, and was reserved with unlimited scope to sovereign princes. Several other regulations were added, affecting the pecuniary transactions of the crusaders amongst themselves, and the distribution of their property in case of death ; and several persons of high station were appointed to see these laws carried into execution.

Many of these enactments derived all their force and value from the state of society, and the circumstances in which they were promulgated ; but there can be no doubt that they tended to raise the character of the king in the estimation of his followers. Another act, however, was performed by Richard at Messina, which it is scarcely possible for us in the present age to regard as anything but personally degrading to the monarch, but which, probably, in the eyes of a host, strongly affected by the influences of a superstitious Church, was not less calculated to secure respect than wise laws and liberal institutions. Having assembled all the bishops who had accompanied him on his expedition, Richard presented himself before them with a bunch of scourges in his hand, lamented his libidinous propensities, confessed his sins, renounced the vicious course of life which he had hitherto followed, received what the chronicler terms condign penance from his clergy, and we are assured became from that time a God-fearing and virtuous man, much to the edification of the devout pilgrims.*

Either as a proof of his devotion and piety, or merely for the gratification of his curiosity, Richard, having heard that a certain abbot of Calabria, named Joachim, had become famous throughout the country for his interpretation of the prophecies, especially those of the Apocalypse, sent for him to Messina, and was highly delighted, we are told, by his con-

* Reasonable doubts may be entertained as to the accuracy of the latter statement.

versation. In the presence of the king and the assembled prelates and barons, the monk explained several passages of Scripture, and particularly sought to prove that Saladin was the sixth great oppressor of the Church mentioned by St. John. He announced, however, that in seven years the sultan should fall. Richard, it would appear, could not restrain his tendency to repartee, and exclaimed aloud: "Then why are we come so soon?"

"Your coming was most necessary," replied Joachim; "because the Lord will give you the victory over his enemies, and will exalt your name above all the princes of the earth."

The abbot moreover declared, with a freedom of vaticination which in after ages would probably have consigned him to the prisons of the Inquisition, that Antichrist was already born in Rome, and would eventually be raised to the Apostolic seat. Upon some of these points Richard entered into controversy with him; and showed himself skilful, we are assured, in such disputes, even against the celebrated Calabrian. The bishops of Richard's court also took part in the discussion, and, as usual, every one retained his own opinion, after having wasted many hours in a war of words.

More useful occupations, however, filled up a considerable portion of Richard's time during his stay at Messina. His vessels, which had been attacked by the worm, were careened and repaired, and a great number of those vast military engines, which supplied the place of artillery in the sieges of the middle ages, were constructed by the monarch's orders. Nor were sports and amusements wanting to lighten the unoccupied hours of the two courts, between which the most perfect amity was apparently restored. The princely followers of the French sovereign were frequent guests at the table of the King of England; and Richard's wealth and power were displayed upon many occasions in a manner perhaps not the most agreeable to his rival and ally. One of the banquets of the English monarch was interrupted by a bloody contention between the Genoese and Pisan seamen in the port, and the sailors in his own ships,* which was with

* Hoveden calls the persons attacked by the Italians "*Galiotas regis Richardi*," but Vinesauf speaks of them as "*custodes*," which would seem to imply that they were merely the persons left in charge of the vessels; but from the sanguinary

difficulty pacified, and the rancorous spirit which the Italians still retained was displayed on the following day by the murder of an English rower, in the midst of Divine service, at the church of St. John. The cause of the quarrel is unknown; but, amongst the rude and barbarous of all ranks, it not unfrequently happens that sports and amusements terminate in anger and bloodshed, and such had nearly been the case with some of the pastimes of Richard himself. I have noticed in a former passage of this work the strong causes of dissatisfaction which had been given to Richard, before his accession to the throne, by the famous William des Barres, called the Achilles of France; but, on taking the cross, all private dissensions were laid aside, and the monarch and his former enemy appeared to have been upon terms of familiarity, if not of friendship. It would seem even, that the celebrated French knight was not an unfrequent guest at the table of the King of England, and in the commencement of February, after dinner, the whole of the English court, accompanied by a number of the French nobility, went forth, as was very customary, to practise military sports in the neighbourhood of Messina. As the royal party returned, it passed through the midst of the city, and encountered a peasant leading in an ass loaded with canes. We find that the courtly company did not scruple to relieve the beast of its burden, and using the canes as lances, commenced tilting at each other in the streets of Messina. In this extempore tournament, it unfortunately happened that the King of England and William des Barres singled each other out as opponents. The two champions broke their canes upon each other, but in so doing, Des Barres, it would appear, raised Richard's anger by tearing a part of the monarch's dress.*

and protracted nature of the struggle, I am inclined to believe that all the seamen of Richard's fleet must have been engaged.

* I have not ventured to state what garment it was which thus suffered injury, for the question is not so unimportant as it seems at first sight. The word used is *cappa*, which is sometimes employed to signify one part of the dress, sometimes another. I find it written in various authors *cappa* and *capa*, and it seems to me that a distinction is occasionally made. *Capa*, I imagine, though without any certainty, is more generally used to signify a cope for the shoulders, or a vestment worn by soldiers, somewhat similar in form to a coat of arms, with a round hole in the centre through which the head was thrust; and *cappa* I find not unfrequently applied to a riding-hood, somewhat similar to a cowl, much used at

Spurring furiously upon him, Richard endeavoured to throw his adversary from his horse, but in the act the girths of the king's own charger gave way, and Richard was compelled to spring to the ground. Another horse was immediately led up for the monarch, and the struggle recommenced, Richard still endeavouring to unhorse Des Barres, without being able to effect his purpose. In the midst of the strife, the son of the Earl of Leicester, who, the day before, had been dubbed a knight by the monarch's hand, hurried up to the assistance of the king, but Richard sharply bade him desist and leave him to deal with his opponent alone. The quarrel proceeded, we are told, with violent words and acts, till at length, Richard, frustrated in his attempt to overcome his antagonist, commanded him to quit his presence and never appear before him again, as from that day forth he should regard him as an enemy.* The more minute particulars of the transaction are not known, but it is clear that, either from mortified vanity or from some serious offence on the part of Des Barres, Richard retained a feeling of rancour not consistent with his character. The French knight immediately hastened to the presence of his own monarch to seek protection against the enmity of the King of England, and Philip shortly afterwards endeavoured to make his vassal's peace with his ally. But Richard would receive no apologies, nor listen to the persuasions of Philip, and it was not until many weeks had passed, that the exhortations, and even menaces of the Church induced him to lay aside his anger.

In all these transactions, as well as in his general demeanour, Philip of France appears in a more dignified light than his brave, but somewhat rash and careless ally ; but two other

this period, and in the succeeding century. If the latter is meant by Hoveden, it would prove that Des Barres aimed at the king's head, which, as the cane was held as a lance, and Richard's face was undefended, might well be considered as malicious, endangering the monarch's sight. M. Capefigue translates the word, mantle, but I do not think that it ever bears exactly that interpretation.

* The only accounts that we have of this event are given by English writers, Hoveden and the Abbot of Peterborough, two authors, the one of whom evidently copied from the other. There seems, however, to be no partiality in their statement, as they distinctly represent Richard as frustrated by Des Barres. It is extraordinary, however, that neither Rigordus, nor William the Breton, the latter of whom delighted in the description of such scenes, takes the slightest notice of a transaction in which the prowess of the French knight shone conspicuous.

events occurred shortly after, in which the character of the French monarch is not seen to the same advantage. We have already found the French troops acting with the Sicilians in the defence of Messina, but Richard does not seem to have retained any feelings either of animosity or suspicion on that account, and probably felt that his attack upon a city in which Philip's army was quartered, was not very decent, even if barely justified by the hostility of its inhabitants. A discovery, however, was about to be made, calculated to produce doubts of the good faith of the King of France, which were never removed, and which the whole course of his after conduct tended strongly to confirm. The dangerous position in which Tancred of Sicily was placed by the progress and preparations of the emperor, naturally led him to court the friendship of the English monarch; and an invitation to the Sicilian court at Catania was accepted by Richard. Setting out with a splendid retinue on the 1st of March, the King of England proceeded to visit Tancred of Sicily, for the first time, and was received with every demonstration of friendship and respect. The Sicilian prince came some way on the road to meet him, and introduced him into Catania amidst acclamations and rejoicings, leading him at once to the celebrated shrine of St. Agatha, where the two monarchs offered up their prayers together. In the beautiful palace of Tancred, Richard remained three days and three nights; and on the eve of his departure, magnificent presents of gold and jewels were offered to his ally by the King of Sicily, of which Richard would only accept one small ring as a gage of amity. In return, Richard presented to his host the famous sword of King Arthur, called Caliburn, the authenticity of which was perhaps as clearly ascertained as any of the many relics of the Romish Church;* but Tancred did not rest satisfied without conferring a more valuable and opportune present upon his former enemy, than either the ring or the sword; and ere

* The gift is spoken of by several authors, who afford no information as to where or how this famous weapon was procured. Except in this instance, I believe it is never mentioned in authentic history. Some light, however, may be thrown on the subject by the statements of Knyghton and Bromton, both of whom give an account of the discovery of the tomb of King Arthur in the reign of Henry II., and one of whom, if I mistake not, positively states that he had seen and touched it, and read the inscription upon the leaden cross with which it was decorated.

they parted, he gave the King of England four large ships and fifteen galleys, which were not a little serviceable in transporting the crusaders to the coasts of Syria. On Richard's departure, the Sicilian monarch accompanied him two days' journey on the way, as far as the small town of Taormina; but there, before they parted, he exposed to the English king a part, at least, of the secret negotiations of Philip, and placed in his hands a letter written by his French ally, and delivered by the Duke of Burgundy, in which the King of France assured the Sicilian prince that Richard was a traitor, and did not keep the peace to which he had sworn. At the same time, Philip offered, in person and with his power, to aid Tancred in destroying the King of England and his army, if the Sicilian would give battle to the English troops, or attack them in the night.

With horror and indignation, Richard replied, "No traitor am I, nor have I been, nor will I be; and the peace which I have concluded with you, I have in no degree transgressed, nor will transgress, so long as I live. Yet it is not easy for me to believe that my lord, the King of France, my sworn companion in this pilgrimage, has sent to you these accusations against me."

Tancred replied, that he gave him the actual letters which Philip had sent to himself by the Duke of Burgundy, and that if the duke dared to deny that he had brought those letters from his lord, the King of France, he was ready to prove it against him as was usual upon such occasions.

Taking the letters with him, Richard hastened back to Messina; but he did not there find the King of France, who, either from jealousy of the intimacy which had sprung up between Richard and Tancred, or from apprehension that his secret practices would be discovered, was even then on the road to Catania, and must have passed the King of England as the latter returned, for we find that he met the Sicilian prince at Taormina on the evening after Richard had left him, and remained there with him the whole night. On Philip's return to Messina, Richard immediately sought an interview with him; and the countenance and demeanour of the King of England at once showed his politic and unscrupulous ally the indignation which had been excited by the base transaction just mentioned. In answer to Philip's inquiries in

regard to the cause of Richard's anger, the British monarch sent a statement, by the Count of Flanders, of all that the King of Sicily had alleged, and entrusted the letters to the count to lay before the King of France. For a moment, we are assured, Philip was confounded, and remained silent, not knowing what to reply;* but at length, recovering himself, he said, "This is a falsehood; and now I know that the King of England seeks a cause of quarrel against me, because he wishes to send back my sister, whom he has sworn to marry; and it is very well known that he will refuse to keep his word, and wed another. Therefore to him and his I am an enemy as long as I live."

This answer of Philip's was cunningly devised; for although the frank and straightforward character of Richard leaves no doubt upon the mind of the historian that the idea of forging such letters and fabricating such a tale could never enter into his mind, yet there were circumstances which at the time might give an air of probability to an accusation otherwise utterly incredible.

In the course of the month of February, Eleanor, the mother of the English king, had arrived at Naples, after performing a long journey by land, under the escort of the Count of Flanders and a large body of crusaders. But Eleanor did not come alone: she brought with her Berengaria, the beautiful daughter of Sancho, King of Navarre. We are told by all modern historians, and by some contemporaries, that Richard, while Count of Poictou, had met and become attached to the Navarrese princess; but none of the particulars of their previous acquaintance are mentioned. Richard's long residence in Gascony, however, and the proximity of that province to the kingdom of Navarre, render the fact stated very probable. Many obstacles, however, existed, both before and after the death of Henry II.; and, up to the commencement of the crusade, the union of the young monarch with the object of his passion seemed most unlikely. His close alliance with the King of France, and his engagement to that monarch's sister, confirmed by the most solemn treaties and by the deposit of the French princess's dowry as well as her person in the hands of Henry, were all well known at the courts of Europe, and

* Hoveden.

must have suggested to the mind of the King of Navarre impediments of a kind scarcely possible to be overcome.* To remove these, and the objections founded upon them, had been the task of the queen-mother, Eleanor, and there could be no doubt that personal feelings stimulated her exertions to free her son from the bonds which bound him to Adelais, and to unite him irrevocably to another. I have already noticed the infamous conduct of Henry II. to the unhappy Princess of France, and in order to induce Sancho V. to take the first steps towards uniting Richard to his daughter, Eleanor might suggest, first, the immense importance of obtaining an ally whose territories extended almost to the foot of the Pyrenees, and whose power and prowess could afford the strongest possible support to the House of Navarre in its interminable struggles with the Kings of Castile; and, secondly, that the marriage of the young monarch of England with the French princess was impossible, inasmuch as she had already borne a child to his father, Henry. These considerations, it would seem, overcame any objections which Sancho might feel; and Berengaria was entrusted to the care of Eleanor, under an engagement that she should be united to Richard, probably guarded by a formal treaty to that effect.

Such transactions could not be altogether kept secret; and Philip must have been aware of the arrival of Eleanor and Berengaria, and suspicious of the intentions of Richard towards the latter. It was therefore a natural stratagem for a cunning and insincere prince, while denying a charge brought against himself, and established by authentic documents, to pronounce the letters a forgery on the part of his accuser, and suggest a motive for the crime. The step was bold, indeed, for the temper of the King of England was not one likely to

* It is not necessary to point out particularly to the reader the gross series of errors regarding these events contained in the *History of Spain and Portugal*, published in Lardner's *Cyclopædia*. In page 21, vol. iii., in speaking of the arbitration of Henry II. between the courts of Castile and Navarre, the author says: "The English monarch could entertain no unfavourable sentiments towards the father-in-law of his son." This was in 1176, when Berengaria was about four years old, and her marriage to Richard had never even been dreamed of. The same author afterwards says, that "the infanta was despatched by her father to the Isle of Cyprus, where she was received by her affianced husband." She was despatched, on the contrary, to Messina, under the charge of Eleanor; and at the time Richard was affianced to the Princess Adelais.

endure so false a charge. Eager to wed Berengaria, however, Richard seems to have fixed his mind principally upon that part of the King of France's reply which referred to the marriage of Adelais; and he answered, that an union between himself and her was impossible, because she had borne a son to his father. The existence of this insuperable impediment he offered to prove, and did prove, by innumerable witnesses; and the prelates and nobles of both courts interfering, and representing the evils likely to ensue from dissension, both monarchs laid aside their causes of complaint, and a treaty was drawn up between Richard and Philip, which set the young monarch free from the ties that bound him to his father's concubine. The terms of this treaty are somewhat differently stated by various authors, but a copy is preserved in Rymer; and that given by Rigordus is as follows:*

"In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, Amen. Philip, by the grace of God, King of the French, to all men present and to come. Be it known that a solid peace has been established between us and our faithful friend and brother, Richard, illustrious King of England, who has sworn to observe the treaty of pacification, of which the conditions are as follows:

"1. Readily, and of our own full will, we permit the said king freely to marry whomsoever he pleases, notwithstanding the convention entered into between us relative to our sister Adelais, whom he was to have taken to wife.

"2. Moreover, we cede to him and the heirs male, which may be born of him and his wife, and who shall hold his land

* I give the version of Rigordus, both because his statement is precise as to the exact words of the treaty, of which he professes to give a copy, and because it varies in a curious manner from some of the statements in the text of his history, though it is very nearly in the precise words of Rymer. We can only reconcile these differences by supposing that Rigordus, when speaking in his own person, alludes to previous proposals made by Philip, and rejected by Richard before the treaty was definitively settled. It is extraordinary, however, to find that the stipulations, according to the French account, are more favourable to Richard than according to that of the English historians. Hoveden states, that Richard promised on his return from the Holy Land to restore Gisors, the Norman Vexin, and some other territories to the crown of France. The treaty in Rigordus and Rymer gives them to Richard and his wife, whomsoever he should marry, and to his heirs, with the sole reservation, that if he dies without a legitimate son, those territories should return to the Kings of France. This is the principal difference between the English and French historians, but there are various others of no great importance.

after him, Gisors, Neaufle, Neuchatel, of St. Denis, and the Norman Vexin, with their appurtenances.

“ 3. On his part, it is agreed, that if he should happen to die without heirs male, born to his wife and to himself, Gisors, Neaufle, Neuchatel, and the Norman Vexin, with their appurtenances, shall return direct to us and to our heirs male, born of our wife and of us.

“ 4. If we die without heirs male, born of our wife and of us, we will that Gisors, Neaufle, Neuchatel, and the Norman Vexin, return to the domain of Normandy.

“ 5. If the King of England should have two heirs male, at least, it is agreed that the eldest should hold of us in capite, all that he ought to hold of us on this side of the English sea, and that the other shall hold of us in capite one of the three following baronies: the domain of Normandy, or that of Anjou and Maine, or that of Aquitaine and Poictou.

“ 6. On the other hand, the said King of England has given us ten thousand marks of silver, according to the weight of Trois, of which he shall pay to us, or to our order, at the approaching festival of All Saints, at Chaumont, the sum of three thousand marks, three thousand more on All Saints' day following, at the third (All Saints' day), and the other two thousand on the fourth festival of All the Saints.

“ 7. Moreover, we have ordained, and do ordain, that for all the fiefs which his predecessors have held of ours, he shall be our liegeman, as his predecessors have been to ours, and we have received him as liegeman for those fiefs.

“ 8. On his part, he has ceded to us the feof of Issoudun and that of Graçai, with all their appurtenances, as well as all that he holds, or hopes to hold, in Auvergne, as fief or lordship.

“ 9. We have likewise ceded to him Cahors and the Quercy entire, with its appurtenances, except the two royal abbeys of Figeac and Souillac with their appurtenances, which are ours, and remain ours.

“ 10. He promises to take nothing more from the lands of the Count of St. Giles, except that which is stipulated above, so long as the said Count of St. Giles is willing and able to submit to justice in our court. But if the Count of St. Giles should fail to do justice in our court, we will thenceforth cease

to defend the Count of St. Giles against the King of England, or at least, our aid shall not be compulsory.*

“ 11. If the conditions of peace here above stipulated be scrupulously observed, we will and agree that the King of England shall preserve in peace all the holdings, either in fief or in lordship, which he possessed on the day that he took the road to Jerusalem.”

The clauses 12 and 13 are the usual clauses respecting hostages, but it is remarkable that the hostages given are only on the part of France. By the 14th clause, the King of England promises to send back safe to France, within one month of his return from the Holy Land, the Princess Adelaïs, without delay or hesitation, and the 15th stipulates that he shall perform all those acts of feudal service required by tenures, which his ancestors before him had rendered to the Kings of France for the territories held of that crown. The whole is dated Messina, in the month of March, 1190.†

It is probable that the signature of this treaty was the last transaction between Richard and the French king, before the latter sailed from Messina, which took place on the 30th of March, if we are to believe the account of Vinesauf.‡ We find that Eleanor would not trust herself with Berengaria in Sicily, till her son was freed from his contract to Adelaïs; but the very same day that the King of France departed, the galleys of the queen-mother appeared in the port of the Sicilian city,§ and three days of festivity and rejoicing followed, during which, however, Eleanor did not forget those political views which at all times engrossed a large portion of her attention. Softened and occupied by the presence of his bride, Richard easily consented to the measures proposed

* Here is a slight difference from the treaty in Rymer.

† According to our computation, March, 1191; for the French at this time either began the year on the 25th of March, or else on Easter-eve; and Easter-day having fallen that year on the 14th of April; the scribes of the French chancery probably did not commence the year 1191 till the 13th of that month. The practice, however, it must be remarked, varied much in the different provinces, creating great confusion in dates.

‡ He states, that the King of France set sail on the Saturday following the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which festival, in 1191, occurred on Monday, the 25th of March.

§ Eleanor had not remained at Naples, but had traversed the whole Peninsula to Brundisium, on what motive is not stated.

by his mother, the consequence of which I shall have to display hereafter: and having accomplished all her purposes, on the fourth day after her arrival at Messina, Eleanor bade her son adieu, leaving Berengaria under the protection of the Dowager Queen of Sicily, who proposed to accompany the English monarch to the Holy Land. On her departure, the politic Queen of England was accompanied by Walter, Archbishop of Rouen,* and she took her way through Italy, proposing to visit Rome, and to solicit the Pope to confirm the election of Geoffrey, her husband's natural son by Rosamond Clifford, to the see of York; but Eleanor could scarcely have reached the Italian shore, ere death removed from the busy scene in which he had acted Pope Clement III., who during his short reign had added but little to the dignity or power of the holy see.

The motives of the conduct, both of Richard and Eleanor at this period, are very obscure; and it is, perhaps, the preferable course to leave them without attempting explanation, rather than to suggest causes from the very insufficient lights we have, when we know that many circumstances, of no magnitude in themselves, affect the actions of monarchs and the conduct of states, and, being left unnoticed by contemporaries, frequently lead historians at an after period to attribute to much more important sources the actions which originated in caprice, or passion, or accident. Why Eleanor crossed the whole of the peninsula of Italy to Brundisium, why she visited Rome, why the marriage of Berengaria with Richard was not celebrated in Sicily, and why he lingered in that country ten days after the departure of his rival in glory and power for the coast of Palestine, are questions which have not been explained by those who accompanied him, or those who recorded his actions at a distance; nor am I disposed to imagine motives where I cannot discover causes.

Some of the French historians have declared that Richard remained long in Sicily aiding Tancred in his wars, and others,

* The character of the Archbishop of Rouen was viewed very differently by different historians. The laudatory Vinesauf calls him, with his barbarous grandiloquence, "*Vir magnarum virtutum*," but the more sarcastic monk of Winchester, known to us as Richard of Devizes, gives as one of the archbishop's reasons for returning to England, "*quia, ut clericorum est, pusillanimitas erat et pavidus.*"

that he was induced to linger behind the King of France by the pleasures of the Sicilian court, and for the gratification of his own libidinous propensities. It is only necessary to say, that there is not the slightest authority whatsoever for this last accusation, and that Richard never unsheathed his sword for Tancred during the whole of his long stay in Sicily.*

* The words of M. Capefigue are as follow:—"Le roi des Anglais était demeuré à Messine long-temps après le départ de Philippe. Le séjour délicieux de la Sicile avait inspiré une douce mollesse aux prélats et aux barons. Ils vivaient au milieu des plaisirs de Palerme et de Messine, et la cour de Tancrede leur faisait oublier le saint tombeau. Richard, surtout, se faisait remarquer par son ardente galanterie. Il ne distinguait ni le rang ni la religion. On l'avait plusieurs fois surpris avec des Juives et des Sarrasines dans les montagnes de la Sicile. Lorsqu'on voulait lui adresser des reproches, il rappelait que les conciles n'avaient défendu d'avoir des femmes étrangères que durant le pèlerinage, et que le séjour de la Sicile n'était point compris dans le voyage aux saints lieux. Pour faire cesser ce grand scandale, l'hermite Joachim sortit encore une fois des grottes de la Calabre, afin de rappeler aux pèlerins les malheurs de Jérusalem et les promesses qu'ils avaient faites de conquérir sa délivrance¹.

"Un phénomène céleste, qui parla vivement à l'imagination des croisés, vint seconder les pieuses exhortations du solitaire: cette année on entendit de grands coups de tonnerre dans la Sicile, la foudre frappa un des navires du roi, et renversa une partie des murs de Messine; les chevaliers et les servans d'armes qui étaient dans le monastère du Griffon, où se trouvaient les trésors des Anglais, virent un globe de feu sur le sommet de l'église; il jetait une brillante clarté, mais ne brûlait pas; il ne disparut que lorsque la tempête cessa².

"Ces phénomènes, auxquels les pèlerins étaient peu habitués, appelèrent des idées de pénitence. Aux scènes de plaisirs et de débauche succéda tout à coup un spectacle de repentir et de contrition; Richard, surtout, manifesta la plus profonde douleur de ses fautes: "Dieu le regarda des yeux de sa miséricorde;" il convoqua tous les évêques et archevêques; le roi se présenta à eux nu-pieds, portant dans sa main un paquet de *verges flexibles*. Il ne rougit pas de confesser la honte de ses péchés, il les abjura, et reçut des dits évêques la *pénitence convenable*. Depuis ce moment il fut aimant Dieu, sans revenir jamais à son iniquité. Heureux celui qui tombe pour se relever ainsi plus fort et mieux pénitencié."

Whether there be any edition of Bromton in which the particulars referred to by M. Capefigue have been interpolated, I do not know, but certainly no such statements exist in the copy of that author contained in the *Scriptores Decem*, under the year 1191, but the direct reverse; for Bromton says, "*Quippe rex Anglorum qui in hiemali ocio ociosus non fuerat, sed in necessariis exercitui congerendis et machinis bellicis conficiendis tempus imbelles impenderat, cito post regis Francorum profectionem eodem mense Aprilis à portu Messanæ recessit*³."

Even had Bromton made such statements, it would be necessary to remember that he was not a contemporary; but there is not only this objection to be urged against the use which the French historian has made of some parts of Bromton's account in the passage of the history of Philip Augustus quoted above. Another very serious error is, that even the facts which are really to be found in Bromton, are placed out of their right chronological order, so as to make it appear that Richard lingered at Messina, passing his time in debauchery, long after Philip

¹ Bromton, *Chroniq.*, ad ann. 1191.

² Ibid.

³ Bromton, col. 1197.

Moved by a strong passion, Richard had shown himself, while in England, greedy and grasping, extorting money from all hands for the purposes of the crusade; but in Sicily he appears quite in a different character, liberal to profusion, and generous even to those whose conduct had given him cause for suspicion, if not for enmity. Previous to Philip's departure for Acre, the English monarch bestowed upon his treacherous ally several large vessels and galleys to supply the place of those which had been lost or damaged by tempests.* To the nobles of the French court, also, he was prodigal of gifts; and the crusaders of his own dominions, many of whom had spent or lost all they had brought with them, found a ready and acceptable supply in the treasury of the monarch. The virtues and the vices of the chivalrous character had all been displayed by Richard during his residence at Messina, and hard disputes, eager negotiations, violent military enterprises, and magnificent festivities,† had

had sailed from that port. Philip quitted Messina at the end of March, 1191, and it is after that period that M. Capefigue places the debaucheries he attributes to Richard and his army, his supposed second appearance of the Abbot Joachim, the meteoric phenomenon which surprised the crusaders, and the confession, repentance, and penitence of Richard, which he puts as a consequence of the phenomenon. Now, every one of these facts is placed out of its natural position. Bromton himself states, that the appearance of the ball of fire took place in the month of December, 1190, in which he follows Hoveden, who says, on the 19th of December (XIV Kalends. Januar.). He places the penance of Richard in the same year, 1190, so that both these events must have taken place fully three months before the departure of Philip. It is next necessary to ascertain how long Richard did really linger in Sicily after Philip had sailed. Bromton gives us no information, merely saying that the English monarch followed quickly after Philip: Hoveden says that the king left Messina for Palestine on the Wednesday before Good Friday, otherwise the 10th of April, ten days after Philip: Vinesauf says, seventeen days after the King of France's departure, the Wednesday after Palm Sunday, which would place the day of Philip's sailing seven days earlier than he states it in another place. The contemporary French historians themselves do not accuse Richard of lingering long; William the Breton positively states that he did not, and Rigordus gives no information. Diceto says he sailed on the fourth Ides of April, confirming the account of Hoveden. Thus the utmost period of his stay was from ten to seventeen days, and I feel much inclined to believe that the words "*Septimo decimo*," in Vinesauf, are a typographical mistake, as he evidently contradicts himself; and his first statement of the day of Philip's departure is in accordance with that of all other authors.

* Hoveden. Bromton.

† Vinesauf gives a long and interesting account of a splendid entertainment offered by Richard to the King of France and his court. If we are to believe that historian, nothing was to be seen but gold and silver, and vessels elaborately chased, and ornamented with gems. Many of these were in the forms of men and animals.

chequered his intercourse with the people of the island and with his fellow-crusaders. Nevertheless, it would appear that Richard had risen in the estimation of the Sicilians. His prowess and his power had daunted, his wealth and his magnificence surprised them, his firmness and vigour had won their respect, and his liberality conciliated their regard. Thus, from all accounts, the people of Messina were loud in their expressions of admiration, when, at length, his navy prepared to take the seas, and Richard ended his residence amongst them by an act which tended to atone, if not to obliterate, some of his more harsh proceedings, and caused the fortress which he had erected for the purpose of overawing Messina to be demolished by the hands that raised it. He sailed from that port on the 10th of April, 1191, on the Wednesday after Palm Sunday, and, with a favourable wind, took his course towards the shores of Palestine.

[*Note*, see p. 245.]—Little is accurately known of the early history of William of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely and Chancellor of England. The best account of him that I have met with is in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 112; but I am inclined to believe that even here there is an error, although I am not prepared to state positively that such is the case. It would appear that Longchamp was the son of an agricultural labourer in Normandy; the steps by which he first rose so as to be preferred to the services of a prince are unknown; but we find that he was attached to the household of a son of Henry II. named Geoffrey. The writer in the *Archæologia* concludes that this was the natural son of that king by Rosamond Clifford, but it is by no means probable that such should be the case; for, from the Geoffrey here mentioned, he went at once into the service of Richard before his accession, and remained attached to him, receiving, one by one, the highest honours the king could give. Now, no intimacy, but on the contrary, hostility, existed between Richard and Geoffrey, afterwards Archbishop of York, at least during the latter years of the reign of Henry II., and therefore it was not likely that the Count of Poitou should receive an officer into his closest confidence at that brother's recommendation. On the other hand, the greatest affection, with very little interruption, subsisted between Richard and his brother Geoffrey Plantagenet, the father of Arthur. It is exceedingly probable, therefore, that at Geoffrey's death, in Paris, one of his attached friends and faithful servants should be transferred to Richard's household. At all events, Longchamp rose rapidly in the esteem of Richard, and at or before the death of Henry, he was created the young prince's private chancellor. A charter is cited in favour of Gerard de Camville, signed at Barfleur, as Richard, after his father's death, was proceeding to England for his coronation. It is authenticated in a curious manner, "*per manum Wilhelmi Cancellarii mei*," showing that at this time the monarchs of England did not take the style and title of king till after their coronation. It has been sufficiently established by Sir Harris Nicolas, that the reign of the early kings of England after the Conquest did not commence *de facto* on the death or deposition of the preceding monarch, and generally not till the coronation of his successor. Sir Harris Nicolas traces this back to the reign of John, and rightly presumes that the custom was of still earlier date. Thus we

find Richard, after his father's death, does not use the words "*Our Chancellor*" as he would have done had he considered himself *de facto* king, upon his father's death, but he uses the simple words which he probably employed before, "*My Chancellor*." In page 128 of this volume I have shown, from Diceto, that a form of election, different from the ordinary form of presenting the sovereign to the people at the present day, was practised at the coronation of Richard; and there can be no doubt that such a ceremony gave additional solemnity to the compact between the monarch and his subjects. It was an acknowledgment, in fact, that his rights were derived from them, and that his title was neither founded in right of conquest, nor in the still more questionable right divine. I may add, that almost all the contemporary historians, especially those who noted the facts of the day as they occurred, call Richard merely Duke of Normandy, from the time of his father's death to the day of his coronation. Though some continue to call him Count of Poictou, yet the fact that many and the best informed chroniclers give him the title of Duke of Normandy, which he did not possess till Henry's death, and withhold the title of King of England till after his coronation, is not without its value.

BOOK XV.

THE magnificent fleet of the King of England, when it quitted the shores of Sicily, called forth expressions of wonder and pride from all the English contemporary writers who either witnessed its departure or heard its fame in distant lands; but it is very difficult to ascertain the exact number of vessels which it comprised. Hoveden assures us that Richard was accompanied by a hundred and fifty large ships, and fifty three galleys; but the account of Richard of Devizes, who seems to have paid particular attention to the naval affairs of his time, is somewhat different. That author only specifies the number of ships in seven of the divisions of Richard's fleet, making in all one hundred and eighty; but he adds, "in the last division followed the king, with his own galleys." The order and arrangement of the ships and of their several divisions, at the time they sailed from Messina, were such that, from one squadron to another, the sound of a trumpet could be heard, and from one ship to another the voice of a man was audible.* The three leading vessels, it would appear, were of the largest class of that day, and of the kind called *Dro-*

* Richard of Devizes. Vinesauf marks that, by Richard's order, the lighter and swifter ships were delayed for the heavier vessels.

mones, which was furnished with towers raised upon the deck, for the purpose of showering missiles into an enemy's ship. In one of these, Joan Queen of Sicily, and the fair Berengaria, took their passage, while Richard himself brought up the rear in another vessel. The king's treasure was also contained in one of the *dromones*; and the first division was under the command of Robert of Torneham, a celebrated knight, who was aided by a number of distinguished officers, and furnished with sufficient forces for the defence of his ships. All seemed favourable for the progress of the royal armament; and during the first few days nothing occurred to cloud Richard's hopes and expectations but the gradual subsidence of the wind, which forced him to anchor upon the coast of Calabria, where he remained becalmed till Good Friday. On that day, however, one of those storms to which the Mediterranean is occasionally subject, assailed the English fleet, and forced the monarch to put to sea, to escape the dangers of an unknown and rocky coast. This measure of precaution, it would appear, however, was not taken till the wind, which had become adverse, returned into a more favourable quarter; but the tempest still continued, so that the order of the fleet was entirely lost, and the vessels dispersed in all directions. Terror, confusion, and sea-sickness spread amongst the military pilgrims; but the king himself never lost his presence of mind, nor ceased to encourage his men, and exhort them to patience and perseverance. Displaying an immense lantern during the night, to guide the other ships, the royal vessel now led the way, and, running before the wind, reached the shores of Crete on the Wednesday after Easter Sunday. There Richard anchored, and landed, looking anxiously for the appearance of the rest of his fleet. A great number did not appear; and on the Thursday, in the midst of another tempest, the English monarch sailed for Rhodes. At first no port was to be found, and the storm continuing, the fleet was in great danger till the Monday following, when Richard landed in the island. Here the king also waited for several days, in the hope of being joined by the vessels which had been dispersed. Several, however, were still missing, when Richard again set sail from Rhodes; and it is probable that the monarch had by this time learned the fate of that squadron of his fleet, with which was the great vessel containing his sister

and his bride.* It would appear that the fleet was again delayed by tempests, but at length, with a more favourable wind, it made its way towards Cyprus, meeting on the voyage a large ship from Acre, and receiving intelligence of the arrival of the French king before that city. On the 5th of May, Richard himself anchored off Limesol, and was speedily informed of events which might well raise the utmost fury in his quick and impetuous spirit.

Several of the largest vessels which had set sail with the king from Messina had been driven by the tempest to the coast of Cyprus, and three† of them had been wrecked upon its inhospitable shore, not far from the port of Limisso, or Limesol. Many of the distinguished crusaders perished in the shipwrecked vessels, and, amongst the rest, Roger de Malus-catulus, or Mauchael, the keeper of the king's seal,‡ which it would appear was suspended round his neck at the time of his death. A much greater number, however, reached the land alive, but were almost immediately attacked by the people of the island, by whom several of them were slain, while the rest were driven into a castle or church,§ in the neighbourhood of Limesol, after having been despoiled of their arms and property of all kinds. A few, indeed, contrived to carry in with them their bows and daggers, which proved their salvation, for the Cypriots kept a strict watch upon them, and not only neglected to supply them with necessary food, but actually seized that which was sent on shore by the commander of one of the other ships, applying it to their own use, and leaving their prisoners to perish of

* Vinesauf does not particularly mention this fact, but he states that Richard inquired anxiously in regard to the character of Isaac, called Emperor of Cyprus; and Hoveden tells us that he sent galleys to seek for the vessel of the two queens, which was found anchored off the shores of Cyprus.

† Vinesauf says, three; Richard of Devizes only names two, and states distinctly that the two large vessels which, together with that of the queens, formed the advance guard of Richard's fleet, were separated from the other squadrons by the tempest, and driven to Cyprus.

‡ Berington erroneously calls him the chancellor. Hoveden more properly calls him vice-chancellor; and Vinesauf accurately, "regis sigillifer." His name is written variously. Sometimes Malus-catulus in one part of a charter, and Mauchael in another. This is probably the origin of the name, Machel.

§ Richard of Devizes says, "in quandam ecclesiam." Vinesauf gives a different account, does not speak of the slaughter, but says: "Sub pretextu pacis admiserunt gaudentes indigenæ, et tanquam compatiētes eorum infortunio, deduxerunt in quoddam, castellum vicinum reficiendos."

hunger. In these circumstances the crusaders resolved rather to die in the field than within the walls of the castle. They consequently issued forth, and, aided, it would seem, by a few men from the queens' ship, dispersed their enemies, and made their way to the gates of Limesol.

Information having been given to the emperor of all that had taken place, he hastened from the interior to negotiate with the gallant strangers who had been cast upon his inhospitable island. Affecting kindness and liberality, and excusing the conduct of his subjects, on the plea of their uncivilised condition and little intercourse with strangers, the wily Greek seduced the shipwrecked crusaders into Limesol, and there, in a position where their few bows could be of no service, and the use of their daggers could only end in their own destruction, he made them all prisoners. The craft of the house of Comnenus found a worthy representative in the Cyprian emperor; and he proceeded immediately to deal in the same spirit with the Queen of Sicily and Berengaria.

Shattered by tempests, and in a very unsafe condition, the vessel of the princesses still lay off the port, though the winds had but little abated, and the seas were by no means calm. We are informed by Vinesauf, that the emperor used every artful device in order to lure Joan and Berengaria into the city; sending them presents of wine and fresh provisions, and giving them the most solemn assurance of safety and protection. During three days he never ceased his solicitations, collecting in the mean while all the forces of his empire in the neighbourhood of Limesol. The commanders of the royal ship, however, had by this time heard of the fate of their companions on shore, and had perhaps also received intelligence that a large army was assembling near the city. On every side the position of the princesses was dangerous: their vessel could not put to sea, in its shattered condition; if they trusted themselves in the hands of the fraudulent Greek, there was every probability of their being immediately imprisoned, to wait as hostages for Richard's arrival; if they positively refused to land, they were likely to be attacked in the roads by the vessels of Cyprus. To delay as long as possible a definitive answer was the safest course they could adopt; and they accordingly suffered Isaac to entertain some expectation of their landing in a few days, in the

hope of the King of England's appearance, although they were at this time utterly ignorant of what had become of the monarch and his fleet.* As day after day passed by, however, their terror and anxiety increased to the highest point; but at length, on the Sunday after their arrival, two ships were seen sailing direct towards the harbour, and shortly after a multitude of large vessels and galleys came in sight, leaving no doubt that the long-expected succour was at hand.

On the evening of the same day, Richard anchored before Limesol, and was made fully aware of the treatment his subjects had received. His conduct upon this occasion was much more moderate than might have been expected from his character. That he was greatly enraged there can be no doubt; but every contemporary declares that the message which he sent to Isaac was mild and pacific. He besought him, for the love of God and the honour of the Holy Cross, to set his men at liberty, and to restore the arms and goods of which he had plundered them.† In league with the Mahomedan princes,‡ the emperor returned a bold and insolent answer; he not only refused to liberate his prisoners, and to restore the property he had taken, but he threatened the king with the same fate as those who had preceded him, if he ventured to land on the island.§

The patience of Richard now gave way, and commanding his land forces to arm, he prepared to make a descent upon

* It is very generally stated that Isaac positively refused to suffer the princesses to land (see Berington, p. 380, where he calls Isaac a discourteous savage for this offence; and Mills, vol. ii. p. 100). That account is taken from Hoveden; but as Vinesauf was certainly present, I have preferred his statement, which is much more consistent with the character of the Greek.

† Hoveden says the king sent three times; but all accounts show that the answer of Isaac was insolent in the highest extreme. Vinesauf puts in his mouth an expression, the meaning of which I do not know, "*Ptruht sire;*" and old Langtoft gives a part of his reply in these words: "*And what haf I to do with Inglis tayled kyng?*" The sarcastic expression of *caudatos* was frequently applied to the English by other nations. Some writers have supposed that this accusation originated in one of the old legends of the Roman Church, which describes St. Augustine as being offended by the men of Kent, and inflicting tails upon them as a punishment.

‡ Both from the statements of the Christian chroniclers and from the Arabian compilation called "The Two Gardens," we find that Isaac was closely leagued with Saladin.

§ Bromton.

the coast in the boats of his fleet, while some of the galleys were ordered to force the port, which, as well as the city, had been carefully fortified to resist the anticipated attack. Richard himself, with a large number of archers and cross-bow-men, led the first division of his flotilla; but the Cypriots were not unskilful in the use of the bow, and the whole shore was lined with the emperor's forces, glittering in splendid armour, and displaying in their garments and banners all the brilliant colours of the east. As the boats approached, the flights of arrows are said, in the common term, to have darkened the air, and so heavily did they fall in the ranks of the crusaders, that Vinesauf admits the hardy warriors of Richard were little inclined to land. The English galleys, however, had by this time overcome those of the enemy, and the king, remarking the hesitation of his troops, sprang from his barge into the sea, and hewed down the first of the enemy that fell by the sword.* Animated by his example, the knights and nobles poured from their boats, and after a brief struggle, the Cypriot troops gave way in every direction. Richard and his army pursued without an instant's delay, and drove the flying squadrons through the city,† and thence into the open fields beyond. The tremendous flights of the English and Norman arrows fell thick amongst the crowded fugitives; the sword raged in the rear; and Richard, in his element amidst the strife, caught a stray horse, and springing on its back, shouted after the flying Isaac with a laugh: "Come back, my lord emperor, and try your prowess with me in single combat." The derisive words of the English king, however, only served to hasten the flight of the Greek; and darkness approaching, Richard did not venture to pursue his adversaries into the hills, the passes of which were unknown to any one in his host. Returning into Limesol, he caused his sister and his bride to be brought on shore the same evening, and they passed the night, in security and rejoicing, in the midst of the monarch's victorious army.‡

* Richard of Devizes. Vinesauf.

† In the little history of Richard which I have before mentioned, we are told that the Cypriots were first driven into the town of Limesol, where they endeavoured to maintain themselves, but the gates were speedily burst open. I find no mention anywhere amongst contemporaries of any resistance in the town.

‡ For the account of these events the reader may compare Vinesauf, Hoveden,

At the distance of about two leagues from Limesol, the emperor and his army halted in their flight, and began to take courage, remembering that, as far as they had seen, the King of England had no horses with him; but early the next morning, after having passed the night under canvas on the shore, Richard caused the chargers of his cavalry to be disembarked, in order to pursue the advantage he had already gained, and about three o'clock* mounted to explore the neighbouring country. At no great distance, in an olive-wood by the side of the road, he found a body of armed Greeks, who instantly took to flight, and were pursued by the monarch. Richard's horses, however, were fatigued and debilitated by a long sea voyage, and not above fifty were found capable of following the king on his rapid course. With these he galloped on, till, reaching the top of a hill, he beheld the camp of the emperor in a valley beneath him, and he paused to observe the fine military spectacle still displayed by the Cypriot army, notwithstanding the defeat of the day before. At the same time the small body of crusaders was seen by the host below, and the shouts and cries and trumpets of the troops having roused the emperor from sleep, he instantly mounted his horse, and advanced up the hill at the head of his forces, as if determined to give battle. The bows and slings of the enemy were already plying the little band upon the hill, when a certain clerk, named Hugo de Mara, who had put on harness, like many of his brethren, rode up to the king, and remonstrated with him on the rashness of attempting to fight with such a disparity of numbers. "Master Clerk," replied the monarch, "we each understand

the Abbot of Peterborough, and Richard of Devizes, from each of whom I have borrowed something. William of Newbury adds nothing, his statements being exceedingly brief.

* I am uncertain of the exact time which Vinesauf means to imply. He says, "*circa horam nonam*;" but authors at this period differed much in the divisions of the day. *Nona*, or *nones*, not unfrequently meant noon or mid-day; but then, again, it commenced about two or three o'clock, according to the divisions of the day by the Church; and I am inclined to believe that Vinesauf intended to say that Richard mounted about that time, as the number of horses necessary for a large body of cavalry could not be very speedily disembarked in those days. It may be as well to remark, that a modern author has stated that the Queen of Sicily and Berengaria did not land till the day after the first victory of the king, but that Vinesauf does not imply anything of the kind, and that Hoveden says the direct reverse: "*Eodem die post victoriam regis Angliæ*."

our own business : meddle with your Scriptures ; leave to us military matters, and do not trouble us further."

Several others, however, attempted to dissuade the king from the combat ; but convinced, by the events of the preceding day, of the enemy's cowardice, and confident in his own prowess, Richard spurred on his horse against the host of the emperor, and, followed by his little troop, cut straight through the adverse ranks sword in hand, spreading terror, confusion, and flight wherever he came. The multitude were routed by a handful ; those who had swift horses made their escape, but an immense number of the foot soldiers and the badly mounted cavalry were killed or taken.

Isaac himself, it would appear, upon this occasion, showed more courage than his followers ; for he remained, we are told, exhorting his men to fight, till he was charged with the lance by Richard himself, and his horse was killed under him. He was immediately mounted upon another charger ; but his experience of the valour of the English king did not induce him to linger upon the field any longer ; and he fled with the rest, leaving the ground covered with the dead and dying, shields, helmets, swords, lances, banners, and ensigns cast away ; nor did he stop in his flight till he had reached the shelter of the neighbouring mountains. The remainder of Richard's forces coming up at the close of the battle, if battle it could be called, pursued the fugitives for two miles, and then returned to satiate themselves with the spoil of the imperial camp. The booty was immense, in arms, garments, treasure, flocks, herds, wine, and every sort of provision, and an infinite number of captives graced Richard's triumphal return to Limesol.

The same day, in a wise and generous spirit, the monarch caused public proclamation to be made, that all the peaceable inhabitants of Cyprus might come and go whithersoever they pleased, without peril or offence from his troops, and that he would severely punish any one who injured them. This conduct, it would appear, had much effect upon the people of the island, who, there is every reason to believe, had been subjected to great oppression by the emperor. Abundance of provisions of the most delicate kind and excellent quality was brought into the camp ; the crusaders rejoiced in the rich wine of Cyprus ; and the excellence of

the corn, the oil, the meat, and the poultry, drew forth delighted exclamations from the sea-worn and hungry chronicler of the Crusade. On the following day, more important indications still of the desire of the islanders to cultivate the friendship of the English monarch appeared, in the visits of several of the nobles of the land, who, we are assured, did homage to him, and swore to assist him against the emperor and all men.*

On the Saturday following, while engaged in preparation for his nuptials with Berengaria, which he had resolved to celebrate at Limesol, Richard received intimation that three galleys had been perceived at sea, steering direct towards the island, and going forth in a boat with little parade, he proceeded in person to inquire who were the new visitors that approached the shores of Cyprus. He found that the galleys were those of Guy of Lusignan, who was anxiously seeking him, for the purpose of obtaining his advice and support amidst the factions which had risen up in his desolated territory. Without making himself known, it would appear, Richard returned in haste to the port, and ordered a sumptuous repast to be prepared for the coming guests.

The King of Jerusalem was received with every mark of reverence and amity, and in the course of his conferences with Richard related events which I shall have to notice in their order more particularly hereafter, and which had a great influence on the relations between the English monarch and the King of France. Lusignan seems to have gained very rapidly the regard and confidence of the King of England, and with a liberal hand Richard opened his treasures to him, and supplied him with money, of which he stood in great need. On the Sunday following that monarch's arrival, the marriage of Berengaria to her royal lover, and her coronation as Queen of England, took place in the presence of a number of prelates and nobles; and the same day, as if to fill up the cup of satisfaction, all the vessels of the English fleet which had been missing reached the shores of Cyprus.

The beauty and fertility of the island which he had partly conquered, the apparent willingness of the inhabitants to submit to his rule, and the serious offences of the tyrant

* Bromton.

Isaac, had induced the English king to determine upon completing the subjugation of Cyprus, and he was preparing to execute this intention, when, by the intervention of some of the nobles of the land, and, it would appear, of the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, negotiations were opened between Richard and the emperor, who expressed sorrow for the acts he had committed, and proposed a voluntary submission and atonement. A meeting was appointed between the two princes, in a plain not far from Limesol, and upon this occasion we have the most perfect description of the dress and personal appearance of the lion-hearted monarch which has come down to our times.

Richard, clothed in his royal robes, proceeded to the conference, riding a magnificent horse of Spanish race, all glittering with trappings ornamented with jewels and gold. The beauty of the charger, we are told, no pen could describe nor limner paint: he champed his golden bit, and seemed indignant at being restrained from putting forth the rapid powers which his limbs displayed. The tunic of the king was of rose-coloured satin, and his mantle was striped with straight lines of silver half-moons, and spotted with small shining orbs, compared by the historian to the solar system. On his feet were spurs of gold, and on his head a scarlet cap or hood, embroidered in gold with figures of birds and beasts, and by his side, in a belt of silk, hung his golden-hilted sword in a silver scabbard. In his hand he carried his leading-staff, as if about to command his army in battle, and thus accoutred, he rode slowly forth to meet the subtle descendant of the Comneni.

After long discussions, Isaac offered to hold his dominions as a vassal of the king; to give up to the custody of the English monarch all the strong places of his dominions, and to lead a body of troops to the Holy Land, to serve in its defence under Richard's command. Moreover, he offered to pay a large sum of money, as compensation for the goods of the crusaders who had been plundered by his subjects. On the other part, Richard promised, if Isaac and the force he was to bring into the field served him faithfully in the crusade, to restore to him his dominions and the fortresses which were ceded for the time. All these particulars having been agreed upon, the two monarchs embraced, and swore to

observe the terms of the treaty; and Richard, on his return to Limesol, sent back to the emperor the tents which had been taken by the crusaders some days before, together with all the plate which had been found therein.*

In the middle of the night, however, either regretting the humiliating convention he had entered into, or alarmed for his personal safety, Isaac mounted a horse, and fled at full speed to Famagusta. He afterwards attempted to excuse the act, by declaring that a certain knight, named Pagan de Cayphas, had assured him that it was Richard's intention to cast him into prison; but Richard, seeing in his conduct not only a breach of the oath he had just taken, but an indication of further treachery, immediately prepared to pursue him, and to bring the whole island under his own dominion. Leaving the King of Jerusalem to lead the greater part of his land forces† to the attack of Famagusta, Richard put to sea in his galleys; and dividing them into two parts, in order to place all the ports of the island in a state of blockade, he took the command of one division, and left the other to the guidance of Robert de Torneham.‡ After having used every pre-

* The whole of this account is taken from Vinesauf, who was present; but in one passage which seemed somewhat obscure, "*se juraturum obtulit imperator fidelem fore regi per omnia*," I have been guided by Hoveden and Bromton, who express the sense of the emperor's offer more clearly. Hoveden says, he became "*homo regis Angliæ*;" and Bromton says, that Isaac swore fidelity to Richard and his heirs, "*sicut ligio domino suo contra omnes homines*." I must remark, however, that both Hoveden and Bromton state the terms of Isaac's submission very differently from Vinesauf, who seems to have written them down carelessly from recollection, and their account explains several things which the other leaves in obscurity. They say, that the sum to be paid by Isaac was twenty thousand marks of gold; that the emperor promised immediately to liberate the shipwrecked crusaders; to hold his empire of the English king for ever, and not to retire from his army till all the terms were fulfilled. Hoveden says further, that he agreed to give his only daughter as a hostage; and Bromton adds, that Richard was to be at liberty to give her in marriage, as his ward, to whomsoever he pleased. It would seem, also, from the account of these two authors, that the King of England, fearful of treachery, had taken especial pains to stipulate that Isaac should not retire from his court.

† Hoveden asserts positively that, not contented with flying, Isaac sent to inform Richard that he would keep no peace with him for the future.

‡ Hoveden. Bromton. These two authors explain Vinesauf, who merely says that the king committed his land army to Guy of Lusignan, and went himself by sea to Famagusta, giving strict orders that the ports should be watched, lest the emperor should escape him. No foundation for the assertion that Richard had only four galleys with him, is to be found in any contemporary historian that I have met with.

caution to prevent the monarch's escape, Richard himself entered the harbour of Famagusta nearly at the same time that Guy of Lusignan approached it by land, but the place was found deserted. Notwithstanding its great strength, which was proved by the long siege it afterwards sustained against the Turks, Isaac did not venture to wait in Famagusta the attack of the English king, but fled into the woods and fastnesses of the interior, taking his course towards Nicosia. Probably unable to obtain intelligence of Isaac's movements, and satisfied that the ports of Cyprus were well guarded by his galleys, Richard remained for three days at Famagusta, and was there visited by envoys from the King of France, who had already been some time before Acre. It is probable that the message of Philip was courteous, and that in moderate and gentle terms he pressed Richard to abandon his enterprise against the Emperor of Cyprus, and hasten to aid in the siege of Acre; but we are assured that the envoys, not finding the King of England prepared to accompany them at once, added a great number of insolent and contumelious expressions, which raised the monarch's wrath to a very high degree.

Richard, indignant, returned a haughty answer, and subsequently marched for Nicosia, where it was supposed Isaac had found refuge. In the neighbourhood of that city the emperor once more appeared in arms, and the King of England again charged him with the lance; but the Greek still contrived to escape, and betook himself to an almost inaccessible fortress, called Candaria. Nicosia fell at once, the inhabitants receiving Richard with apparent joy as their lord and master. The only act of sovereignty which he thought fit to exercise was one of no great severity, indeed, but which probably mortified the citizens of Nicosia not a little. He commanded them to shave off their beards,* in token of having passed under the rule of a new lord; but this indignity was not followed by any bad consequences, and we find that every day the nobles and people of Cyprus came in crowds to offer submission, and do homage to the conqueror.†

The progress of the enemy, and the falling away of the vassals and subjects over whom he had tyrannised, enraged the emperor to the highest degree; and whenever an unfor-

* Vinesauf.

† Hoveden.

fortunate crusader strayed from the army and was taken, he either put out his eyes, cut off his nose, or mutilated his hands or feet. A short fit of sickness detained Richard in Nicosia for some time, but in the mean while his forces captured three strong places, in one of which, called Chermias, the well-beloved daughter, and only child of the emperor, was taken, as well as the immense treasure which he had amassed. Hitherto Isaac had resisted all the persuasions which were addressed to him by his friends, to make some effort towards obtaining terms from Richard; and on one occasion, when such advice was offered him at dinner, he had struck with a knife the nobleman who spoke, ordering his nose to be cut off upon the spot. The capture of his daughter, however, and the loss of all his treasure, plunged him at once into despair; and after sending envoys to mitigate the anger of the king, who still lay ill at Nicosia, he came down in person from his mountain fortress, and with a dejected countenance and mourning garments, cast himself at the feet of the conqueror, only entreating that he might not be fettered with chains of iron. Pity, anger, and contempt, all seemed to mingle in Richard's feelings, and to affect his conduct. He raised the suppliant from the ground, he placed his daughter in his arms, but he kept him in perpetual captivity, and, with a biting sarcasm, ordered his chains to be of silver, in consideration of his elevated birth.*

The whole island submitted, the nobles did homage to the King of England, the towns, fortresses, and castles opened their gates to him, and the immense treasures, collected by Isaac from an oppressed people, fell into the conqueror's hands. The catalogue of riches is vast, displaying a number of curious items, such as saddles and bits of gold, with gems and precious stones, many of which, we are assured, possessed peculiar virtues. In fifteen days the complete dominion of Cyprus was obtained, and Richard returned to Limesol to prepare for his departure. The daughter of the fallen emperor he gave into the charge of Berengaria, "to

* "Et cum in manu et potestate regis omnia jam essent à rege solum petiit, ne in compedibus et manicis ferreis permetteret eum poni. Rex vero petitionem ejus audiens ait, Quia nobilis est et nolumus eum mori, sed ut vivat innoxius, catenis argenteis astringatur."—Bromton, col. 1200. Hoveden mentions the same facts, in other words, and William of Newbury confirms them.

cherish and instruct ;”* but the disposal of his island conquest was a more difficult question than that of providing for the child of his fallen adversary. To preserve it was important in every point of view, especially during the siege of Acre ; for as the Mahommedan forces were in possession of a great part of Palestine, the supply of provisions for the Christian army was at all times scanty and uncertain. The fertility and great resources of Cyprus, which, under Isaac, had never been available to the crusaders in Syria, were now at the disposal of Richard ; and Vinesauf assures us that the king placed in authority in the island warlike and industrious governors, who afterwards continued to furnish him with abundant supplies. Hoveden informs us that these governors were Richard de Camville and Robert de Torneham, but there is some confusion in the statements of contemporaries in regard to these facts.†

In making all these arrangements, and preparing for sea, Richard passed a short time at Limesol, receiving every day fresh proofs of the admiration which his valour and conduct had excited in the Cypriots. He granted to them, at their urgent request, as a perpetual code, the laws and ordinances which had been in use in the island in the reign of the Emperor Manuel. The price they paid for this concession was somewhat high, if we may trust to the account of Hoveden and Bromton, extending to not less than one-half of their goods. It would seem, indeed, that this was a free gift, and not, as Mills has erroneously stated, the produce of a tax levied by the English monarch ; nor can we suppose that the amount was very large, for the oppressive hand of Isaac had already wrung from them the greater part of their moveable wealth : their fertile land, which was not included in the gift, was their principal property, and it is therefore probable that but little more than half of one year's produce made up the amount of their offering to the English king.

During Richard's residence in the island, the body of

* I will not perpetuate an idle scandal respecting the emperor's daughter and Richard, which has been repeated, if not invented, by modern authors, who should have known and felt better. She was at this time a child. Vinesauf, who saw her, calls her "*juvencula parvula*;" words which are not to be mistaken.

† Bernard the Treasurer, in his continuation of William of Tyre, declares that when the king had conquered Cyprus, he offered to give it to the Knights of the Temple, but they refused to receive it, undertaking, however, to guard it.

Roger de Mauchael was washed on shore by the waves, and the king's privy seal was recovered. What became of the shipwrecked soldiers who had been imprisoned by Isaac is not distinctly stated, though there is some ground for the suspicion that several of them had been assassinated in prison. The emperor himself was sent, in his silver chains, to Tripoli, where he remained a prisoner till death ended the misfortunes which fell upon the latter portion of a turbulent and active life. His daughter, with Berengaria and the Queen of Sicily, sailed in the first division of Richard's fleet from Limesol; and after having placed strong garrisons in various fortresses and castles, the king himself took ship in the port of Famagusta,* on Saturday, the 1st of June, and set sail for Acre, seven weeks and four days after his departure from Messina.

BOOK XVI.

BEFORE I proceed further with the personal history of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, it may be necessary to give some account of the state of Palestine at the time when the English monarch arrived upon its shores. In the fourteenth book of this history, I have conducted the affairs of the kingdom of Jerusalem up to the period when the Holy City fell before the arms of Saladin. The conqueror showed himself generous in victory, but not the less eager for conquest. The subjugation of the Holy Land was advanced, but not completed, by the fall of the city of David, and several exceedingly strong fortresses remained to be subdued ere the triumph of Islamism could be looked upon as complete, or the dominion of the sultan secure.

Authorities are not wanting for that part of the history of Palestine which follows; but the task of the historian is rendered more difficult by the cessation of the regular and methodical account of William of Tyre, which was most service-

* It is generally stated that Richard sailed from Limesol, but it is particularly pointed out by Vinesauf, that after the departure of the two queens he went to Famagusta, where part of his fleet had been left, and took ship there, which accounts for the arrival of Berengaria at Acre before her husband.

able in disentangling the complicated threads of eastern affairs, and leading investigation aright even when the prelate did not himself afford sufficient information. We are obliged to rely upon the scattered notices of the great events of the day which are to be found in the various Latin chroniclers; upon a few letters from the Holy Land, preserved by different historians; upon the account of Bernard the Treasurer; and upon the fuller but somewhat distorted statements of the Arabian writers, who, of course, afford more information regarding the proceedings of their own forces than of those of the Christian leaders.

The first act of the great sultan, after the capture of the holy city, was to cleanse it of the impurities contracted during eighty-eight years of Christian occupation; but after having spent a few days in rejoicing and prayer, Saladin resumed his arms again, and marched forth to bring under his yoke the rest of the land. The delay which had taken place was important to the Christians, and detrimental to Islamism. The citizens and garrison of Jerusalem had been suffered to proceed, after paying the stipulated ransom, whithersoever they would; and with the strictest regard to his word, the sultan not only set them free, but in several instances caused them to be escorted by his own soldiery on the road, and in others defrayed the expenses of their journey.* Besides straggling parties, there were three grand divisions of exiles, one of which directed its course towards Antioch, another towards Tripoli, and another towards Tyre. The two former, according to the account of Bernard the Treasurer, were inhospitably received, and their goods pillaged, by their fellow-Christians. Many of them, however, turned their steps towards Alexandria, still protected by Saladin and supported by the Moslem, and thence, in the following spring, embarked for Europe, to spread the tale of disaster far and wide, and call that quarter of the world to arms for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre. The third party, which marched for Tyre, met with a more favourable reception, and aided the citizens of that strong place to check the progress of the conqueror.

Several modern writers have asserted, that after the battle of Tiberiad, Saladin besieged the city of Tyre, and withdrew

* History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. Bernard the Treasurer.

his forces to effect the more important conquest of Ascalon ; but there is a very slight foundation for this story,* and the Arabian writers only indicate that their great monarch hesitated for a time as to which of the two fortresses he should attack before he proceeded to the subjugation of Jerusalem. The account of Hoveden is confused ; and Bernard the Treasurer merely mentions that from some intelligence within the town, Saladin was led to believe the inhabitants would quietly surrender to him ; that he appeared before the city, and finding his hopes disappointed, turned his arms another way, after a short attack, into the details of which he does not enter.† The preservation of Tyre was of the utmost importance to the Christians of the Holy Land ; but from every account, it would appear that the consternation spread by the fatal battle of Tiberiad had so greatly affected the inhabitants of the city, that a number abandoned it, and fled to Jerusalem, while the rest quietly contemplated submitting to the arms of the conqueror. The deepest depression reigned in Tyre, when unexpected succour reached it.‡ I

* The authority for this statement is a letter of Brother Terric, Grand Preceptor of the Temple, written apparently before the fall of Jerusalem, in which he states that Tyre was then besieged ; but it would appear that Terric was one of those who escaped from Tiberiad, and that he wrote the letter before the capture of Ascalon, when the armies of Saladin were on the march along the sea-coast towards Jerusalem, where the Templar had probably taken shelter. He himself describes the hosts of the Moslem as overspreading the whole country between Tyre and Jerusalem like ants, so that we may well suppose that what was taking place at Tyre between the 4th of July and the middle of August was not accurately known in the city of David, especially when the rumour of that place being besieged is in direct opposition to the testimony of one who was with the army of Saladin.

† He states, indeed, that on this occasion, as well as during the subsequent siege, the old Marquis of Montferrat was brought beneath the walls of the city, in order to intimidate his son ; but the total silence of the Arabian historians, in regard to this attack upon Tyre, would throw an air of doubt over the whole statement, even if Ibn-alatir had not expressed a regret that Saladin did not attack it immediately after the battle of Tiberiad.

‡ Historians vary very much with regard to the date of the arrival of Conrad of Montferrat. Some say that he reached Tyre the day after the battle of Tiberiad ; some say, two or three days after ; but all agree that the time between the two events was short. Neither do we know how many men he had with him. In speaking of his departure from Constantinople, Bernard the Treasurer seems to imply that he was accompanied by several vessels, but afterwards mentions only one. It is curious to remark, that the account of Ibn-alatir, regarding the arrival of Conrad on the shores of Syria, is almost precisely the same as that of Bernard the Treasurer. Indeed, the similarity even of expression is very remarkable.

have already related the circumstances attending the marriage of the Princess Sybilla to William, commonly called Long-Sword, son of the Marquis of Montferrat, and the early death of that gallant but somewhat licentious prince. The old marquis himself, who had taken the cross some time before, was captured by the sultan at Tiberiad, and remained a prisoner in his hands; and at the very period of that fatal defeat, his youngest son, Conrad, was on the seas to join him with a small body of chosen and experienced warriors.

Filled with the adventurous spirit of the day, hardy, resolute, and enterprising, Conrad of Montferrat had already distinguished himself highly in arms. By the father's side he was cousin to Philip, King of France; by the mother's he stood in the same relationship to the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa;* and after visiting Constantinople, having quelled a rebellion, slain the leader of the insurgents with his own sword, and received the hand of the emperor's sister as a reward, he took ship for the Holy Land, impelled partly, there is reason to believe, by the military zeal of the day, partly by a desire of escaping the dangers which surrounded him at Constantinople, from the treacherous friends of the prince he had put to death. He arrived with his small train on the coast of Palestine, immediately after the defeat of Tiberiad, and, ignorant of all that had occurred, directed his course towards Acre. On approaching the city, however, he perceived that there were no crosses on the churches, and his ear did not catch the sound of bells. Judging at once that the town was in possession of the enemy,† he took care not to enter the port, but sailed with all speed towards Tyre, pursued, it would seem, by some Saracen vessels. He found the Tyrian Christians in a state of abject consternation; but they besought him anxiously to land and assist them; and the young marquis, entertaining hopes of reanimating their courage, from the desire they expressed of defending their town, at once acceded to their request, and was met by the notables and clergy in procession. Accompanied by his knights, he immediately took possession of the citadel, and prepared to hold out the fortress to the last. His example gave courage to the citizens; several Knights

* William of Tyre.

† William of Newbury, lib. iii. cap. 19. Bernard the Treasurer.

of the Temple and Hospital joined him; and Saladin, finding that the conquest of Tyre would be more difficult than he had anticipated, marched on to Ascalon, the possession of which was of much greater importance to him at the time, as it commanded the best road from Egypt to Jerusalem.*

After the fall of the city of David, the garrison of Tyre was reinforced by several parties from Jerusalem. A number of the Christian inhabitants of Acre and Berytes had also taken refuge there, and Conrad of Montferrat had applied himself diligently to three great objects—that of supplying the town with provisions, that of strengthening its fortifications, and that of disciplining and instructing its people in the use of arms. Provisions were easily obtainable; but the various means he took for the defence of the place seem to have caused astonishment amongst the Mahomedans. “He was a devil incarnate for cunning and courage,” says Ibn-alatir; “he fortified Tyre with the greatest care, he dug new ditches, repaired the walls, separated the peninsula on which it was built from the continent, and made of Tyre a sort of inaccessible island in the midst of the waters.”

The news of these vigorous and wise measures brought multitudes to the gates of the city; and, though we do not know with what selection, Conrad received within the walls so great a number of skilful and valiant men, that Emad-eddin exclaims: “This town had become the seat of the frauds of the infidels, the nest of their perfidies, the asylum of fugitives, and the refuge of wanderers. The marquis was the most perfidious and the most to be feared of the Franks, the most artful of the wolves of Tyre, the most impure of her dogs, and the most subtle that it is possible to imagine.”

It is beyond all doubt that before Conrad undertook the defence of Tyre, he stipulated for certain authority in the city, but to what extent that authority was carried, it would be difficult to discover. The Arabian historian states, that the inhabitants gave up to him the sovereignty of the town; and it is proved that in the end he obtained the entire command, and exercised all the rights of sovereignty therein up to the period of his death.

The battle of Tiberiad took place on the 4th of July, 1187;

* Ibn-alatir.

Ascalon fell shortly after, and Jerusalem had surrendered by the 2nd of October in the same year. Immediately after the capture of the Holy City, Saladin detached a considerable division of his army to blockade Tyre, and following himself early in November, laid siege to the place on the 10th or 11th of the month. By this time, however, the fortress was in all respects prepared to offer an effectual resistance; and the Mahomedan writers express much regret that their great monarch had not attempted to reduce it before he turned his arms against Jerusalem. The delay which had occurred proved the salvation of Tyre; for not only had Conrad strengthened the defences of the place in every possible manner, gathered together all the galleys which could be found in the neighbourhood, and trained and encouraged the inhabitants to resist, but he had sent off messengers to the nearest Christian princes, beseeching their aid in defending the last great maritime town which afforded the Latin population of the Holy Land both a place of refuge and a means of communicating with their brethren in the west. Nor was the appeal in vain; for though some other princes hesitated, and many procrastinated, William the Good, of Sicily, sent immediate succour, and several knights and gentlemen of Spain hastened from the countries in which they were sojourning, to the aid of Tyre. No means were left untried on the part of the Moslem to reduce the city. Vast engines plied the walls continually, and fourteen catapults and mangonels cast immense masses of stones into the town and upon the ramparts. Armed galleys were brought from Acre to complete the blockade; and the fiery vigour of the Egyptian cavalry was for some time exerted with success to drive the Christian forces back within the walls as often as they ventured forth. But shortly after the commencement of the siege, a Spanish knight appeared, covered with green armour, and bearing part of a broken chain on his casque. The Mahomedans called him the Green Knight, a name by which, in former ages, they had distinguished St. George of Cappadocia, the hero of Arabian as well as European tales; and the prowess of the unknown warrior was so great, that multitudes of the host of Islam, we are assured, collected round the spot where he was to be seen, to wonder at and admire, rather than to encounter him. Saladin himself was so struck with his

spirit of enterprise and valorous deeds, that he sought to see him, and offered him immense riches and high dignities as a temptation to apostacy. The Green Knight, however, remained faithful to his religion and the cause he had undertaken to defend.

To meet the swarming hosts of the infidel, and to cover the operations of the Christian forces when they sallied from the gates, Conrad caused boats of leather to be constructed, having a very small draught of water. In these he placed a number of skilful archers, who poured the flights of their arrows upon the bodies of Moslem troops that lined the shore.

Finding the siege likely to be long and wearisome, his supplies running low, and his troops anxious to retire into winter quarters, Saladin brought the old Marquis of Montferrat, who had been taken at Tiberiad, under the walls of Tyre, and offered to set him at liberty if his son would surrender the city.* But the young commander treated the proposal with contempt, and the siege proceeded with unremitted vigour. Fresh succour continued to arrive in Tyre;† and, with vigorous determination, Conrad resolved to lead the sultan into a rash engagement. By means of an Egyptian who had fled from Saladin's camp and embraced Christianity, he led the sultan to believe that the garrison of Tyre intended to abandon the city, and took care that appearances should favour the false intelligence thus conveyed. Judging that an immediate attempt would be made by the Saracen galleys to enter the port in order to prevent his escape, Conrad filled the three towers by which the harbour was guarded with chosen troops, under orders not to show themselves, and at the same time affected to leave the walls on the land side almost undefended. At the hour which had been named by the Egyptian, he proceeded with a great number of men to the

* Most of the Christian writers assert that Saladin threatened to put the old Marquis of Montferrat to death if the resistance of Tyre was protracted; some, that he exposed him to the arrows from the walls; but I have preferred the account of Bernard the Treasurer for various reasons, and especially because it is more consistent with the character of Saladin, whose conduct on this occasion was perfectly in harmony with that which he pursued at Ascalon.

† Bernard the Treasurer denies that aid to any great amount was afforded to Conrad; but it is clear, from some of his own statements, as well as from the accounts of contemporaries, that more than one party forced its way into Tyre.

port, and caused some noise and confusion to be made, as if he were embarking his troops in haste. The Moslem commanders fell into the snare; the troops of Saladin advanced to the assault on the land side, passed the palisade without resistance, and reached the foot of the walls, which they attempted to mine, finding them too high for their ladders. The Saracen galleys rowed rapidly towards the harbour; and finding the great chain down, and nothing but a confused multitude in the port, began to sweep in without fear; but after five had entered, the chain was suddenly raised, the garrisons of the towers rushed forth from their places of concealment, the five Mahommedan galleys were boarded and taken, and, joined to the Christian ships in the port, rowed forth again, swarming with men, to attack the fleet of Saladin. The Mahommedan navy fled with the utmost speed, pursued by the ships of Tyre; but several were taken, others were lost upon the coast, and only two escaped to Berytes. The discomfiture of the fleet was seen from the camp of the sultan; and the efforts of a great part of the Moslem force were directed to save the men and ships which had been driven upon the coast, while the troops who had passed the palisade were forgotten and left unsupported. Conrad, however, as soon as he had seen the success of his stratagem at the port, hurried back to take advantage of the imprudence of the assailants, who were already actually mining the wall. Assailed on both flanks by the Christians, an immense number of Mahommedans perished. After this double defeat, although Saladin himself would willingly have persisted, yet he found his emirs unwilling to pursue the siege during the winter; and cutting off the ears and tail of his horse, as a sign of sorrow and disgrace, he abandoned the siege of Tyre.*

Conrad, it would appear, was now acknowledged as sovereign prince of Tyre, and Guy of Lusignan, who had commanded little respect in the days of his highest fortune, was

* The latter trait is derived from a letter of the Grand Preceptor of the Temple, written after the fall of Jerusalem. His brief account of the siege of Tyre is very similar to that of Bernard the Treasurer, from whom I have taken the greater part of these statements; but the Templar's narrative shows that Conrad had received much greater reinforcements, and was possessed of a much larger fleet than is admitted by Bernard. Vinesauf also gives us to understand that the gallant defender of Tyre was not very scrupulous as to the means he employed for the purpose of collecting galleys along the Syrian coast.

totally neglected and forgotten in captivity and adversity. The period of his liberation, however, now approached, and at length Saladin fulfilled his word, and set the prisoner free, though we are assured by the Christian writers that this act of justice did not take place till the month of May, notwithstanding the stipulations entered into at Ascalon. Both Bernard the Treasurer and Vinesauf also assert that Saladin did not fulfil his word till he had extracted from Guy a cession of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and a vow to cross the seas and never to bear arms against his conqueror again; and it is added, that the unhappy king was afterwards absolved from his oath by the Christian prelates, as it was taken under compulsion, and was contrary both to the spirit and the letter of the treaty of Ascalon.* Such a perfidious breach of faith as is here attributed to Saladin was quite contrary to the general character of that great prince; and we find, in one of the very authors who make the charge, the record of acts, performed at the same time, so generous and noble as to throw great doubt upon the whole statement. Immediately before the liberation of Guy of Lusignan, the sultan sent his prisoner, the old Marquis of Montferrat, to Tyre, making the son a present of the father's liberty, as a generous testimony of the admiration which he felt for Conrad's gallant defence of the city under his command; and a short time afterwards, he set free the son of Renault of Sidon, and sent him, without ransom, to his parent.†

It had been stipulated at Ascalon, that on the liberation of the king, nine other Christian prisoners, at his choice, should also be delivered, and it is not denied that in this particular the sultan kept his word to the letter. The Grand Master of the Temple, though the fiercest enemy of the Moslem, the constable, and the marshal of the kingdom, were selected by Guy, with six other knights, and were at once set free. With these, and Sybilla, he is said to have proceeded, in the first instance, to Tyre, where he demanded

* Post, circa principium Maii, Regem à vinculis liberat; et læsa pactione priori, novam et duram conditionem imponit. Vinesauf, lib. i. cap. x.

† Bernard the Treasurer. There is another account which states that the old marquis was exchanged for an Arabian emir; but as far as I can make out the chronology of the events, the liberation of William the Elder took place before the capture of Azotus, and I have therefore adopted the statement of Bernard.

admission in the quality of sovereign. It would seem, from the words of the chronicler, that he had a considerable force with him; and Conrad refused the royal party admittance into the city, saying that God had given it to him, and he would keep it.* Guy bitterly resented this act of Conrad; the Templars, headed by their grand master, took part with the king; the Hospitallers sided with the brave defender of Tyre; and we thenceforth find two virulent factions dividing the remnant of Christians in the Holy Land, at a time when their only safety was in union and co-operation. Guy betook himself to Antioch and Tripoli, and passed a considerable part of the year 1188 in making preparations for the siege of Acre. At this period, indeed, he showed more activity, energy, and courage than he had ever previously displayed; but unfortunately the confidence of the people was lost. The faction against the king, which had been always powerful, was now headed by a gallant, enterprising, and ambitious prince; and all the undertakings of the monarch met with impediments which took from them every chance of success.

In the mean while, with the forces of his enemies paralysed both by consternation and party spirit, Saladin marched from conquest to conquest; and though it was not, as it has been sometimes called, one uninterrupted triumph, yet his progress through the Holy Land left little to the Christians but a few strong places, principally on the sea-coast. After the fall of Ascalon and Jerusalem, the most important portions

* The recently published history of the Knight Templars represents Guy and his family as fugitives cruelly repelled from Tyre, but I cannot take the same view. The king was by no means a lonely wanderer without friends or support. He was accompanied by a number of the first men in the kingdom, aided zealously by the powerful order of the Temple, and had at his command a part at least of the money sent to Palestine by Henry II. of England. It would seem, indeed, from a letter in Diceto, col. 642, that this money was one of the great causes of strife; and Bernard the Treasurer assures us, that at the very time Guy went to Tyre he was preparing for the siege of Acre, and therefore he could not be in such a destitute condition as has been represented. It may be as well to remark, that the *Historia Hierosolimitana*, cited by Mr. Addison, from the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, is a mere transcript from the first book of Vinesauf. That Guy was powerfully accompanied when he presented himself before Tyre is proved by the historian Bohaeddin, who informs us that the remains of the army which was vanquished at Tiberiad sought out the king immediately upon his liberation, with a number of other fugitives from the conquered towns, and swore to use their best efforts to restore to him his kingdom.

of Palestine were in the hands of the sultan. Tiberiad opened the way to Damascus, Ascalon to Egypt, and Acre, Berytes, and Jaffa gave him sufficient communication with the sea. Tripoli and Antioch, it is true, were in the hands of his enemies; Carac, or Petra Deserta, was maintained by its undaunted garrison; Laodicea, Biblis, Margat, and some other places on the coast were also possessed by the Christians in the north, and Tyre still held out to the west of Tiberiad. The strong fortresses, also, of Kaukab and Sefed were garrisoned, the first by the Hospitallers, and the second by the Templars; and Shaubec communicated with Carac, on the shores of the Dead Sea.

Judging that little could be effected by the Christians in the south, and that the places which they occupied, though strong enough to present great difficulties to a besieging army, could be very little serviceable to their possessors, Saladin appears, during the repose of the winter, which he passed at Damascus, to have fixed the object and laid out the plan of the succeeding campaign in the north of the Holy Land, where his presence was important in various points of view. Early in the spring, the Moslem forces began to congregate at the place of rendezvous, on the shores of the lake of Emessa, and the sultan immediately put himself at their head. The army with which he took the field was, as usual, immense, and the first point of attack was the county of Tripoli; but at the same time a detachment was sent to attack Kaukab, while Malek Adel was directed to keep the garrisons of Shaubec and Carac in check.

The military habits and prudent government of the deceased Count of Tripoli had maintained in his dominions a resolute spirit and a regular discipline which had been lost in the other states of Palestine, and a vigorous resistance met the efforts and repulsed the attacks of the great leader of the infidel. The castle of the Curds resisted the first assault of the Moslem troops, and Tripoli itself, assisted by reinforcements from Tyre, laughed to scorn the arms of the besieger.* The prospect of obtaining easy possession of Gibleh afforded a pleasant excuse to Saladin for abandoning an attempt which was not likely to prove successful, and at the same time, it harmonised well with his usual plan of

* Bernard the Treasurer. Ibn-alatir.

operations, which was, it would seem, to subdue all the minor places surrounding either any strong town or any important district which he intended to subjugate; and then, having cut off its resources and separated it from its allies, to concentrate his whole forces suddenly upon it, and endeavour to reduce it by fierce and unremitting attack. The conquest, therefore, of a part of the Antiochan state might thus be considered as a first step towards the conquest of Tripoli; and Gibleh having surrendered without resistance, though some difficulties, which I shall notice hereafter, presented themselves on the road, Saladin marched by Tortosa, which was already in his power, and captured Margat, Biblis, and the Syrian Laodicea. A number of other small places in the principality of Antioch were taken by detachments from the great army, and the city of Antioch itself was cut off from the rest of the Holy Land by the capture of Berzia, at which Saladin was present in person. The fall of Darbessac, which was valiantly defended by the Templars, and Bagras, which surrendered without striking a blow, brought the sultan almost to the gates of Antioch, the prince of which place, wrapped in debauchery, did nothing for the defence of his dominions till the Crescent appeared under his walls.* Even then he contented himself with demanding a truce, which was granted upon the condition that he liberated the numerous Mahommedan prisoners who were then in his hands.

It would appear that Saladin withdrew from Antioch with regret, for Boemond, Prince of Antioch, held, also, at this time, authority in Tripoli, and the fall of the one city would inevitably have induced the subjugation of the other. But the troops of the sultan were weary of continual marches in the heat of the summer, and a considerable portion of the army was not to be depended upon. Saladin, therefore, granted peace to Antioch for eight months, and retiring to Damascus, dismissed the greater part of his forces to winter quarters. He himself, however, still kept the field with a considerable body of chosen troops. Carac and Shaubec, the strongest fortresses in the east of Palestine, surrendered, under the pressure of famine, to Malek Adel; and the sultan himself proceeded to the attack of Sefed, in the midst of the Ramadan. An effort was made by the garrison of Tyre to

* Bohaeddin.

succour the fortress of Sefed, but the reinforcement was surprised by an ambuscade, and the place soon after surrendered.* Kaukab was next besieged, but a far more vigorous resistance was here made by the Knights of the Hospital. Its position was exceedingly commanding, situated upon the top of a high rock, "as if," says Emadeddin, "it touched the stars." The rain poured down in torrents upon the Mahommedan host; the wind blew and overthrew the tents; the roads were almost impassable; and, notwithstanding the falling deluge, water fit for drinking was scanty in the camp of Saladin. But, in this instance, he showed a determined resolution which overcame all obstacles; and, in the end, Kaukab surrendered after the walls had been mined and the place was no longer tenable.

Thus closed the campaign of 1188, at the conclusion of which Antioch, Tripoli, and Tyre, with a few small forts, were the only places which remained to the Christians of all that had been acquired by Godfrey of Bouillon and his successors. Some of these small forts, however, were important, from their position, and from the gallantry and determination of the bodies by which they were garrisoned; so that many difficulties yet remained in the way of Saladin, even in Palestine itself, while menacing clouds had gathered in the west, and were ready to pour once more the storm of European war upon the Moslem forces in Syria.

I have already mentioned in this work the arrival in Europe of William, Archbishop of Tyre, who had set out from the Holy Land at the commencement of the Christian disasters, for the purpose of rousing the princes and chivalry of Europe from the apathy which had fallen over them in regard to the fate of their brethren in the east. No long details of his progress are admissible here; but his mission was, as I have already shown, successful in an extraordinary degree. The King of Sicily, then William the Good, in whose dominions the archbishop first touched, received him with kindness, and embraced the cause he advocated with enthusiasm. Without hesitation or delay, a hundred galleys and a large body of troops, led by three hundred knights,† sailed from the ports of Sicily to give support to the defeated Christians of Syria, and arrived off Tyre at the

* Ibn-alatir. Bohaeddin.

† Bernard the Treasurer.

period when Saladin was attacking Tripoli. A detachment was consequently sent to assist the garrison of the latter city, and it is probable that the appearance of this succour had some share in causing the sultan to abandon his attempt. The Sicilian high admiral, Margarit, remained for some time on the Syrian coast, and seems, by his gallantry and conduct, to have raised himself high in the opinion of the Saracens. He followed the army of Saladin along the shore of Palestine, as it marched from Tripoli towards Antioch, harassed it whenever the opportunity presented itself, and probably would have saved Laodicea, had not the garrison weakly abandoned it to the enemy. Highly enraged at this pusillanimous proceeding, Margarit threatened to put to death any of the inhabitants who fell into his hands; but afterwards requested and obtained an interview with the sultan,* and besought him to treat the Christians of the subjugated territory with lenity and moderation.

From Sicily, William of Tyre proceeded to Rome, Germany, and England, where he found the nobility deeply moved by the painful intelligence which had preceded him, and already prepared to receive with zeal his exhortations to a new crusade. The first who took arms was Frederic Barbarossa; and the most wise and learned but least superstitious monarch of the age, the bold assailant of dogmas, and perhaps of creeds, appeared in the new characters of a preacher and a crusader, and led an innumerable host of gallant, determined, and well-disciplined men to the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre. Traversing Hungary and Greece, he detected and defeated the perfidious schemes of the Emperor Isaac, passed on into Asia Minor, overthrew in a general engagement the vast host of the Sultan of Iconium, which had been called forth against him by the treacherous Emperor of Constantinople, took the city of Iconium itself, and reduced the Moslem powers to the north of Antioch, to sue for peace, and to allow him to march tranquilly through their country. At the close of 1188, the whole of Germany was preparing for the crusade, and Saladin had already received letters from Frederic Barbarossa, requiring the restitution of Jerusalem to the Christians, and announcing the march of all the imperial forces to enforce the demand if it

* Ibn-alatir.

were not at once complied with. Saladin replied boldly, and even haughtily, but he nevertheless felt that his position was becoming dangerous, even by the magnitude of his conquests ; for at this time he could not foresee that the waters of the Cydnus would deliver him from the greatest and the wisest of his enemies.

The spirit which animated Frederic Barbarossa and the German chivalry, spread throughout the whole of Europe, and the poetical feeling which was then bursting forth afresh, after a long night of silence and darkness, gave a peculiar voice to the general sentiment of the times. The Troubadours and Trouveres took up the cause of the Christians at Palestine ; the *plainte* for the loss of Jerusalem and the capture of the Sepulchre was heard from castle to castle ; and the *sirvente* and the *fabliau* lashed, with all the virulence of indignation, the monarchs and the princes who spent, in private dissensions, the time, the treasure, and the blood, which might have been employed in conquering the infidel, and delivering the sepulchre of Christ. All Europe flew to arms, the crusading enthusiasm became once more general, and France, England, and the Low Countries prepared to send forth their vigorous and energetic races to combat the infidel on the plains of Syria. We find, from all the Arabian writers, that news of this universal armament reached the great sultan towards the end of 1188, and the tongue of rumour still sounded louder and louder, like the roar of an advancing torrent, restoring courage and hope to the divided and defeated Christians, and bringing warning of assault and danger to the enemies of the Cross.

The early part of 1189 was passed by Saladin very nearly in inactivity. His troops were exhausted by a campaign which had been prolonged into the winter, and could not be recalled to his standard so soon as was necessary. The truce with Antioch was on the eve of expiring ; Frederic Barbarossa was still upon his triumphant march ; detached parties of crusaders were daily arriving at Tyre and Tripoli ; the Sicilian fleet was still upon the coast ; and Saladin seemed waiting, like a lion couched in his lair, to spring upon the first body of the enemy which should afford him an opportunity. He wasted too much time indeed before the

insignificant fortress of Schakif,* the commander of which artfully contrived to amuse him with the hopes of a speedy surrender, without the least intention, it would appear, of yielding his stronghold to the hands of the enemy.†

Suddenly a great movement was remarked amongst the Christians of the Holy Land. Guy of Lusignan, supported by the Templars, all the principal barons of Palestine, and a number of distinguished warriors from the west, gathered together in the neighbourhood of Tyre. Whether the king was admitted into the city or not, I cannot discover; but it is evident, from the conduct of all parties, as well as from the testimony of both Arabian and European writers, that a hollow and insincere reconciliation‡ had taken place between Guy and Conrad of Montferrat, and that they had agreed to act together against the infidel, although the ambition of the young marquis only waited for the opportunity of snatching at the royal authority. While still under the walls of Schakif, Saladin received intelligence that the disputes between the Christian king and Conrad of Montferrat had been for the time appeased, that an immense number of crusaders of all nations had been assembled under the walls of Tyre, and that an immediate attack either upon Sidon or Acre was about to take place. One corps of the sultan's army was detached to watch the proceedings of the Christians; and, on receiving intimation that his enemies were in motion, Saladin himself hastened with a large body of his best troops to support the division which lay between Sidon and Tyre. A terrible combat, however, had already taken place before his arrival on the scene of action. A multitude fell on both sides; and though the principal Arabian authors do not claim the victory for their chief, it appears certain that the crusaders were forced to retreat to their former position, and abandon the meditated attack of Sidon. In two subsequent engagements between the army of Guy and detached divisions of Saladin's forces, it would seem, even according to the Arabian accounts, that success was upon the side of the Christians, and that a tremendous slaughter of the Moslem took place. On the last occasion, however, the sultan himself

* This castle, it appears, was called by the Christians "La Roche Guillaume."

† Bohaeddin.

‡ Diceto, col. 654. Emadeddin, &c.

coming up, with the main body of his army, drove the enemy back once more to the walls of Tyre.

Judging rightly that Acre would be the next place assailed, Saladin proceeded in person to that city, to visit the fortifications which were in progress under the superintendence of a skilful engineer,* who had been brought from Egypt; and, after having passed some days there, he returned to the siege of Schakif. In the mean time, the King of Jerusalem, resolving to make one great effort for the recovery of his dominions, led his army, enfeebled as it was by sanguinary combats with the Saracens, to the attack of Acre, trusting for support, in his daring enterprise, to the Christians, who were daily arriving from the west. The Hospitallers, as well as the Templars, now gave him their assistance, although Conrad of Montferrat, some of the bishops, and a number of the principal leaders of Palestine, strongly opposed what they represented as a rash and perilous attempt.† This division of opinion greatly reduced the forces upon which the king had probably calculated; but he nevertheless pursued his object; "and people were very much astonished," says Bernard the Treasurer, "that he went to besiege Acre with so few folks as he had; for, to every man that was with him, there were in Acre four." As soon as he had encamped before the city, Guy sent off messengers to Tripoli, beseeching the aid of the Sicilians, whose galleys, it would appear, were still in the vicinity of that town; and he also took means to strengthen his position, which was in itself a very good one, by palisades and field-works, such as were used in those days. Troops speedily began to pour in, supplies of different kinds of food were sent abundantly to the camp of the King of Jerusalem, and before Saladin appeared with his army, Guy was able, at least, to defend himself on the high grounds which he occupied.

The Christians differ very much from the Mahomedan historians, both as to the conduct and views of Saladin at this period. Some say that he lingered long before he approached the walls of Acre, but the Arabian writers generally declare that at the very first news of the march of the crusading army, the sultan put in movement his own forces in order to

* His name was Bohaeddin Caracousch.

† Diceto, col. 648.

cut it off. For a time, it would appear from the account of Bohaeddin, the great monarch imagined that the march upon Acre was merely a demonstration, intended to draw him off from Schakif; but he did not allow that impression to delay his progress, and commenced his march for the sea-coast, leaving a division of his army to maintain the blockade of the place he had been besieging. Though he advanced rapidly, it would seem the Christians had been on the ground several days before him,* the Sicilian fleet was lying off the port, and the river Belus supplied the soldiery with the first article of necessity in hot climates.

Strongly barricaded, the camp of Guy of Lusignan occupied the top of the hill of the Mossallins, or Mount Thuron, and although according to the Arabian account, they numbered only two thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, their position was judged by Saladin too strong to be attacked. The crusading force, however, was not large enough to invest Acre completely, and for several days there was not the slightest danger in passing from the army of Saladin to the city. The Mussulman prince instantly took advantage of this circumstance to throw supplies and reinforcements into the town, finding that the number of his enemies under the walls of Acre was daily increased by the arrival of European vessels or of galleys from Tyre. As soon as the object of the Christian enterprise was known, Saladin had himself sent forth a summons for his emirs, with the detachments which they commanded, to join him, without loss of time; and day by day his force increased, till at the end of August it amounted, we are assured, to more than a hundred thousand men.

The Christian forces had augmented likewise, though not in the same proportion; but sufficient reinforcements arrived to enable Guy completely to invest the fortress on the land side, and the siege may be said to have really commenced about the 26th or 27th of August. The day after the army of the crusaders had extended itself to the sea shore on both sides, the sultan put his troops in motion,

* In a letter addressed to the Pope from two adherents of Conrad of Montferrat, it is stated that Saladin's first attack upon the Christian army took place on the third day after the commencement of the siege.

and a sanguinary conflict ensued, which lasted till night, and having been renewed on the following morning, continued from break of day till noon, without the slightest impression having been made upon the Christian ranks.* The new ground, which the army of Guy had first occupied two days before, was not yet fortified with trenches or palisades; and at length, shortly after mid-day, Takiëddin, the nephew of Saladin, led a strong body of cavalry towards it, and with a vigorous charge cut his way through, and re-opened the communication with the city. Pouring immense masses upon the same point, the sultan himself completed the rout of the Christians in that part of the field, and took the rest of the royal army in flank. The garrison of Acre made a sally at the same time; and if we are to believe the Arabian writers, the disarray of the crusaders was so great, that their destruction was inevitable if the Moslem had pursued their advantage. "They would have fled if they could," says Emad-eddin; and it is probable that the immense force of Saladin, sweeping round, rendered retreat impracticable, even if it had been desired.

A letter from the camp, written about a month after, likewise describes the position of Guy and his forces at this time as very perilous. The whole Christian army, according to this account, was driven back to the summit of Mount Thuron, and surrounded by the Mahommedan troops, so that they could not issue forth; but the writers of this letter, it must be remembered, were perhaps more prejudiced against Guy than against the Saracens, being adherents of his rival Conrad; and reasons, which I think sufficient, will appear shortly, for supposing that the advantage gained by Saladin was not so great as they and the Arabian writers represent. There is no doubt that the passage between Acre and the sultan's camp was so completely opened, that fresh supplies both of men and provisions were thrown in, and that Saladin himself entered the city, mounted the ramparts, and thence reconnoitred the Christian host. It is very probable, also, that he wished to pursue the combat till a small advantage should be changed into a great victory, and that by error, his troops, wearied with many hours' fighting under the scorching sun of Syria, retired without orders to their tents, thinking that the

* Bohaeddin.

work of the day was accomplished. But we find that the crusading force had by the next morning so much recovered from the check of the day before, as to re-occupy the ground lost, to dig trenches, and raise barricades; and when the army of the sultan marched to the attack, the troops of Guy presented a front from which the Moslem turned without having affected anything. Saladin retreated to his tents, and for some weeks the war was reduced to mere skirmishing.

In the intervals of hostility, the Christian and the Moslem seemed to lay aside their enmity, and mingle together in friendly sports and pastimes, till one day, probably without any satirical meaning, one of the Christian warriors said to a soldier of the garrison of Acre, "How long will grown men go on fighting? why should we not make the little ones fight? Come, let us put our children to the work."

The proposal was agreed to rapidly; a host of young Saracens issued forth from Acre; the Christian children were brought out of the camp, and a combat took place under the walls, in which both parties, we are assured, did valiantly. One little crusader was captured by a young Mussulman, and his parents paid two pieces of gold as his ransom.*

A more sanguinary scene was soon to be presented. Knowing that the forces of the enemy were daily increasing, and that, from the great extent of ground occupied, the Christian army presented several weak points, Guy of Lusignan sent messages to Conrad of Montferrat, beseeching him, if not from reverence for the royal authority, at least for the honour of the Christian name, to join his troops to those which were every day menaced with destruction by the Moslem.† A gallant and chivalrous spirit could not remain dull to such a call, and embarking with a thousand men at arms, and twenty thousand foot, Conrad joined the army of the king towards the end of September. About the same period, it would appear, a large force of Danes and Frisons, amounting to twelve thousand men, in fifty ships, reached the coast of Syria, and the troops were immediately disembarked to aid in the attack of Acre. A number of smaller parties followed, French, English, Flemings, and Germans, amongst whom was the celebrated James of Avesnes, with two or three bishops, and a German landgrave.

* Bohaeddin.

† Diceto, col. 648.

The considerable accession of strength which had been thus received encouraged the King of Jerusalem to make one great effort against the camp of the enemy; and on the 4th of October, early in the morning, the whole cavalry was put in motion. The intention of the leaders had been kept quite secret, and not the slightest suspicion of an approaching attack had reached the sultan. Although his forces far outnumbered the troops of the Cross many considerable leaders, with their divisions, were absent,* a great part of the Saracen soldiery were reposing in their tents, and the sultan himself, it would appear, was one of the first who perceived the movements and divined the purposes of the Christians. He instantly sent heralds to all quarters of his camp, to call his troops to arms, and remained himself on the hill where his tent was pitched, watching the proceedings of the enemy. The host of the Cross issued forth in four divisions: the first was headed by the king in person, who commanded during the day,† and was composed of the battalions of the Hospital, and a body of French troops; the second was led by Conrad of Montferrat, having under him the principal part of the troops from Tyre; the third consisted of Pisans and Germans; and the fourth comprised the Templars, the Catalonians, and a body of Germans. To guard the camp, there remained a considerable force commanded by Geoffrey of Lusignan, the king's brother, and James of Avesnes; but I find no means of ascertaining the numbers in the respective divisions.

The principal attack of the Christians was directed against the right wing of Saladin's army under Takiëddin. The furious charge of the crusading cavalry carried all before it in that part of the field, and Saladin immediately detached a large portion of his infantry from the centre, to support the routed forces of his nephew. By so doing, however, he, of course, greatly weakened his centre, and another division of the crusaders charged up the hill, carrying confusion and dismay

* Tbn-alatir.

† Bohaëddin. We have the account of four eye-witnesses,—Bohaëddin, Emadëddin, and the two Christians whose letter has been already cited,—and the statements which they give are sufficiently clear and minute to render it unnecessary for us to have recourse to Vinesauf, whose authority is exceedingly doubtful upon transactions which he did not see with his own eyes.

into the midst of the enemy. The Mussulman forces gave way; in vain Saladin in person passed across the whole line, exhorting his soldiers to fight for the joys of Paradise, which their prophet had promised;* in vain he exposed himself to the utmost peril, to rally his confused and panic-stricken men; the troops of Mesopotamia, unaccustomed to encounter the chivalry of Europe, fled like a herd of deer, and some of them never halted for any length of time till they reached Damascus. At one moment, it would appear, the tent of the sultan itself was filled with the Christians. But the very facility of the first success snatched the victory from the attacking army. The left wing of Saladin's host wheeled upon the rear of the Christians who were engaged in the centre, and cut them off from their entrenched camp. The error which had been committed was instantly perceived by some of the leaders on the hill, and an effort was made to remedy it; but the troops were collected with difficulty. Some were plundering; some were pursuing the fugitives; Saladin had time to rally his brave and veteran bands; and, attacked in front and rear at the same time, that division of the Christian army which had mounted the hill was routed with great slaughter. The Arabian writers assure us that hardly a man of all those who had shortly before driven the main body of the Moslem troops before them, returned alive to the camp.† At the same time, the garrison of Acre made a sally, and assailed the Christian camp; the right wing of the Moslem returned to the charge; and Guy, with the broken fragments of his army, after a gallant though unsuccessful fight, retreated to his lines pursued by the Saracen cavalry.

The slaughter upon both parts had been tremendous; but a number of prisoners remained in the hands of Saladin, amongst whom was the Grand Master of the Temple. He had before been taken prisoner at the castle of Tiberiad, and his life had been spared, when his brethren had been put to death; but on the present occasion the sultan commanded his head to be struck off immediately after the battle.‡ It

* Emadeddin.

† Ibn-alatir.

‡ The statements of the Arabian authors who were in the camp of Saladin at the time are precise upon this point, and they certainly had better means of knowing the truth than Vinesauf, who was not present, and who did not write till many years afterwards. The joint letter from Theobaldus and Petrus only states, "Ma-

would appear that the loss of the day was greatly owing to his imprudence, and that, carried on by the same rash spirit which he had displayed at Tiberiad, he had led the forces under his command to the attack of the centre of the enemy, exposing his flank and rear to the left of Saladin.* His daring courage was undoubted; but his turbulent and domineering character and general imprudence of conduct are distinctly marked by all the historians of the crusades; and I am much inclined to believe that the overbearing and ambitious spirit of the order to which he belonged, by the feuds and animosities which it planted and nourished, was more detrimental to the kingdom of Jerusalem, than the valour of all, and the skill of many of the knights were beneficial.

Many curious little incidents regarding this battle are told by the Arabian writers, to which I cannot afford a place here, but one fact is worthy of mention, as showing the enthusiasm in favour of a new crusade which had seized upon all classes. The forces engaged upon the part of the Christians, it would seem, were entirely composed of cavalry; and yet, after the battle, when the Saracens stripped the dead bodies of their armour, the corpses of three ladies were found amongst the slain, armed and habited like men.

The number of the dead was so great, and the stench which issued forth from them, in the heat of the autumn, so dangerous, that after long deliberation with his emirs, the sultan determined to retreat from the position he then occupied, and encamp upon Mount Karouba. There he expected soon to be joined by Malek-Adel and a large reinforcement from Egypt, and at the same time, in a more salubrious air, to recruit his health, which had been terribly shattered by the

gister tamen Templariorum et plures de nostris eodem die sunt interfecti," but does not say whether the persons it refers to were killed in or after the battle.

* I do not find it distinctly stated that the division which attacked the centre of Saladin's army was that which was commanded by the grand master, and therefore I have used the expression, "it would appear;" but I have been led to conclude that such was the case by the following facts. The Arabian writers state that it was the body which assailed the centre which was cut off by the left wing, and so hemmed in that almost every man perished or was taken prisoner. The other divisions seem to have returned to the camp with but little loss, and it is certain, from all accounts, that a number of the Templars were killed upon the hill where Saladin's tent was pitched. We are nowhere informed by an eye-witness which of the divisions it was that marched up the hill; but the letter of Theobald only mentions the Templars in one division of the army.

incessant fatigues he had undergone. A part of his troops were dismissed into winter quarters, and a small body was left before Acre to watch the proceedings of the Christians, and, as far as possible, to keep up a communication between the sultan and the besieged city.

While Saladin, with the rest of his forces, retired to Karouba, the Christians applied themselves to strengthen their lines round Acre, raising on the edge of their trenches a brick wall to be guarded by crossbow-men, whose bolts were regarded with great apprehension by the Saracens.* Churches, stables, and places of amusement were constructed within the lines, and Acre might be considered as a city besieged by another city, which had been suddenly built up under its battlements. Every day fresh bodies of crusaders arrived from Europe; Saladin remained ill, and unable to mount his horse, at Karouba; Frederic Barbarossa was leading on his troops towards Palestine; and Richard of England and Philip of France were preparing for their march in the same direction. Thus the year 1189 ended with fairer prospects for the kingdom of Jerusalem than any which had preceded it since the battle of Tiberiad; but the Christian vessels were forced by stress of weather to withdraw from before the port of Acre, and take refuge at Tyre, so that the besieged garrison was once more refreshed by abundant supplies of provisions.

The spring of 1190 was wet and boisterous, and Saladin still continued sickly; but the arrival of his brother, Malek-Adel, with a powerful army under the walls of Acre, and the appearance of the Egyptian fleet off the port, gave courage to the garrison of the city, and no sign of success raised the expectations of the Christian forces. Numerous skirmishes of no great importance took place, both during the winter and the spring, in which it would appear, the balance of success turned somewhat in favour of the Christians. No great effort was made by the sultan till the commencement of summer; for the immense movement in the west induced Saladin, before he took the field in person, to send letters and messages to the caliph and all the Mussulman princes of the neighbouring countries, urging them in vehement terms to take arms for the defence of their religion.

As the finer season approached, the Christian fleet again

* Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrinorum.

appeared upon the seas, and the Egyptian vessels, inferior in number, abandoned the port of Acre, and set sail for Alexandria. The blockade of the besieged city was once more completed; and as soon as his various detachments had joined him, the sultan once more descended towards Acre, and took up the same position which he had before occupied. The camp of Saladin now rivalled that of the Christians, containing large squares and market-places, bazaars and separate shops, of which the number amounted to seven thousand; more than a thousand baths were also to be found, and the number of farriers excited the astonishment of the historian.*

Every expedient was employed by Saladin to support and relieve the garrison of Acre. As the town was strictly blockaded, skilful swimmers were employed to convey letters, provisions, the materials for the Greek fire, and pigeons to carry intelligence from the town to the camp in time of need; and the army of the sultan harassed the attacking force, day and night, by continual skirmishes. But still the labours against the town proceeded: three large towers of wood were constructed, high enough to overtop the walls. The ground around was levelled; the ditch in several places was filled up; the towers were rolled forward; and, with mangonels and bows, a furious assault was carried on against the Saracens who defended the ramparts. Various efforts were made to burn with the Greek fire these moveable fortresses, but stores of vinegar and clay had been prepared, by means of which the prepared naphtha was extinguished as soon as it was poured upon the woodwork, and the town was upon the eve of being taken by storm, when a soldier from Damascus, who happened to be in the town, informed the governor that he had discovered a method of preparing the Greek fire in such a manner that nothing could be successful in extinguishing it. After some hesitation, he was allowed to try the experiment upon one of the towers; and the Damascene accordingly cast a large pot of inflammable substances unlighted upon the machine. No effect was apparently produced; and the Christians were laughing at the vain attempt, when suddenly another pot containing the lighted naphtha was thrown from the walls, and the fire communicating with the unctuous liquids which had

* Abd-alatif.

been cast down before, inflamed the whole. No means usually employed produced the result of extinguishing the fire ; and so rapid was its progress, that many of the Christian soldiers were burned to death before they could escape from the tower. The second and the third of these vast engines were destroyed in the same manner ; and the Mahommedans without, who were watching with the greatest anxiety, beheld the flaming masses fall one after another with inexpressible satisfaction.

From the moment these towers had been constructed, they had caused great alarm, both within the town and in the camp of the sultan, and immense efforts had been made by his army to force the Christians to raise the siege. For three days and three nights, we are assured, Saladin continued to pour masses of chosen troops upon the lines of Guy of Lusignan ; but the Christian forces, divided into two bodies, defended their own intrenchments and carried on the assault upon the town at the same time. No impression whatever was made upon their camp ; and it was only when the crown of victory seemed within their grasp that the destruction of the towers snatched from them the result of all their labours. Another general battle took place almost immediately afterwards, the crusaders issuing forth from their intrenchments and attacking the right wing of Saladin's army, where they were at first victorious. Malek-Adel, who commanded in that quarter, was driven back ; but the Christians immediately began to plunder the tents, especially seeking provisions, of which they were in great want ; and taking advantage of the moment, the Mahommedan commander returned to the charge, seconded by Saladin in person and the main body of the Saracen troops. A tremendous slaughter then took place from the tents of Malek-Adel to the Christian camp. From seven to eight thousand perished, and the hopes and expectations of the Saracens were greatly raised, both by the victory they had gained and by the tidings, which arrived a few hours after, of the death of the Emperor Frederic, and the dispersion of a great part of his army.*

The depression of the Christians from this defeat was but temporary ; for towards the end of July, Count Henry of Champagne appeared in the camp, with a considerable reinforcement ; and the attack upon the town was renewed with

* Emadeddin.

even more vigour than before. The general command of the army was placed under the count; a better system of discipline was established; and a wiser administration provided not only for the operations of the day, but for the reception and organisation of the fresh troops of crusaders which were constantly arriving from Europe. More than once the town was upon the point of being reduced by famine; but means were always found, sooner or later, to throw provisions into the place; and August and September passed in continual skirmishes, with very little advantage on either part.

Early in the month of October, the small remains of the German army, reduced, we are assured, to a tenth part of that which took the way to the Holy Land with Frederic Barbarossa, effected its junction with the besiegers of Acre. Frederic, Duke of Swabia, the deceased emperor's son, as was customary with newly-arrived crusaders, resolved to measure his strength at once with the sultan; and a long combat ensued, which only terminated at night by the retreat of the Germans into their intrenchments. New attacks upon the town followed, but with very little success; the resistance of the garrison was vigorous and determined, the military engines of the crusaders were burned or captured, and the carnage was often considerable.

A more terrible scourge than the sword, however, came at last to afflict the Christian army, and even affected, in a degree, that of Saladin. Pestilence spread far and wide, produced, it is probable, partly by famine, partly by the stench of the unburied corpses. Saladin retired for a time to Sephorim, in order to place his army in a more healthy position during the rainy months; but we find that many of his emirs died around him, while he himself was severely afflicted by fever during the greater part of the winter. The plague among the Christians was still more severe, and we have received a long list of illustrious persons who died during the autumn of 1190; amongst whom were five archbishops, six bishops, and four abbots, besides an immense number of dukes, counts, and barons. The two principal Englishmen of note who here lost their lives, were Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the famous Ranulph de Glanville.* Nothing,

* The terrible virulence of the pestilence is shown by our finding such entries as the following: "Anselmus de Monte Regali et tota familia ejus."

however, seemed to stop the tide of the crusade. Death, by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence, presented no terrors sufficient to counterbalance the enthusiasm of nations, and we find reinforcements, from every part of Europe, pouring into Palestine even to the latter end of 1190. As soon as the spring set in, the vigour of the war was renewed on both parts; the Christians attacked the town, and Saladin attacked the Christians; night or day there was no repose, and, although during the short period when the port was free Saladin had renewed the garrison and relieved the long-besieged forces which had hitherto made so gallant a defence, the fall of Acre seemed every day drawing nearer, when at length, on the 20th* of April, 1191, the sails of the French fleet appeared in sight, and Philip Augustus, with his army, landed on the shores of Syria. He was followed very speedily by the Count of Flanders; but the latter was seized, soon after his arrival, with the disease prevalent in the camp, and expired in a few days. We are assured by contemporary historians, that, the moment the eyes of Philip of Flanders were closed, the French monarch seized his treasures, and resolved to return to Europe with all speed, in order to make himself master of the large and important territories left by the deceased prince;† but many other causes probably combined to render a longer stay in the Holy Land unpleasant to Philip Augustus. Of these I shall speak hereafter, as I must now turn to notice an event which, by its results, spread fresh dissension amongst the Christian princes assembled for the deliverance of Palestine, and greatly affected the whole course of Richard's after-life.

Amongst all the distinguished personages who died during the siege of Acre, there was no one whose life was more valuable than that of Sybilla, Queen of Jerusalem, not because she possessed any personal qualities which commanded respect, but because her existence was the only common bond which united the great majority of the barons of Palestine in support of her husband, Guy. Death, however, which spares

* Rigordus says that the king landed on the 13th, and I am inclined to think that this date may be correct, although the historiographer was not present, and Bohaeddin, who gives the time of Philip's coming as above stated, was an eye-witness.

† Hoveden.

not the palaces of kings, reached Sybilla in the camp before Acre; and the plague spread to her four infant children, who were consigned to the grave a few days after their mother.* Guy had been crowned King of Jerusalem, and fealty had been sworn to him by many of the barons of Palestine; but the title of Sybilla's younger sister, Isabella, to the throne, which had been considered by many even better than that of the late queen, at the death of Baldwin, might now well be urged, as the sole surviving descendant of Almeric. She had been married, at a very early age, to Humphrey of Thoron, the unworthy inheritor of a great name.† But it would appear that her affection for her husband was not particularly strong; and the ambition of Conrad of Montferrat saw a by-path to the royal dignity opened by the death of Sybilla, and the contempt into which the husband of Isabella had fallen. This path was difficult to tread, indeed: for the first step was to procure the double divorce of the princess and Humphrey of Thoron, and of himself and his own wife, whom he had left in Constantinople. The next was to marry Isabella himself; and the last, to induce the nobles of the land and the crusading princes to declare the crown fallen from the head of Guy of Lusignan, by the death of Sybilla, and his own title good as the husband of Isabella. The divorce of Humphrey and Isabella was obtained without difficulty; for the ready co-operation of the princess had probably been insured beforehand; and, whatever was the pretence put forth by the clergy who pronounced the sentence, the arguments of Conrad seem to have been solely of a military and political nature. He represented that Humphrey was incapable of serving the Christian cause, and that he himself was both capable and willing. He even took advantage of circumstances which had greatly diminished his own popularity, to affect the leaders by hopes and fears. He had withdrawn from the siege of Acre, at a moment of the greatest danger and the greatest need. During a long time he had neglected to send supplies to the army of Guy, had made no effort to prevent it from perishing with

* Some authors mention only two children, and it is not improbable that some had died before their mother, but it is quite clear that the race of Sybilla was now extinct.

† Bernard the Treasurer gives the following very unprepossessing character of this prince:—"Car Honfroï estoit si couart que ja ne porroit terre tenir."

famine, and had been even suspected of too close an intimacy with Saladin.* Now, however, he prepared the way with gifts, and followed it with promises. He engaged the mother of the princess in his interest; and he vowed that, if he obtained the hand of Isabella, he would immediately send immense supplies to the army from Tyre, would apply his utmost energies to insure success to the Christian arms, and would hold no more correspondence with the sultan. Humphrey of Thoron seems to have been not at all unwilling to part with a cold and indifferent wife, or a doubtful title to a lost kingdom. The barons of Palestine were not famed for scrupulous morality, and did not at all object to a double and causeless divorce, or an adulterous marriage. The clergy, as was always the case, found legal motives for a course which suited their interests and probably filled their purses; and, with the exception of a few resolute priests, who expressed their disapprobation loudly, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who excommunicated the young Lord of Montferrat, no one was found to offer any serious opposition to the marriage, which took place, we are assured, the very day after the divorce had been pronounced.

As soon as Conrad's objects were gained, his promises were forgotten. He boldly called himself King of Jerusalem, began to exercise sovereignty, and if we are to believe the accounts which were evidently current in the camp, he not only neglected to send the promised supplies, but impeded others who were willing to carry provisions to the forces before Acre. Nothing was heard throughout the Christian host but curses upon the Marquis of Tyre; and, under the horrors and distress of pestilence and famine, some thousands of the soldiery passed over to the camp of Saladin, and embraced the Mahommedan religion. Notwithstanding all these causes of complaint against him, Conrad once more appeared before Acre; but the cause of his coming was to demand the crown. Guy of Lusignan resisted, with the bold and determined spirit which he had lately shown on many occasions: the Germans in the camp, it would appear, adhered to Conrad; the English, the French, and some of the Italians, supported Guy; the barons of Palestine were divided; confusion and disorder were added to the evils which the crusaders had al-

* Hoveden.

ready suffered; and the danger of civil war was imminent. The wiser and more moderate leaders advised that the differences between the two claimants should be referred to the judgment of the Kings of France and England, who were daily expected; but on the arrival of Philip Augustus, his leaning towards the party of his kinsman Conrad was so evident, that on hearing of Richard's sojourn in Cyprus, Guy of Lusignan put to sea with a few galleys, to make his own cause good with the lion-hearted King of England.

The reinforcement of the Christian host, brought by the King of France, enabled the crusaders to push forward the siege of Acre with renewed vigour; and the French historians declare, Philip had made such successful efforts, that nothing was wanting to the capture of the city but a general assault. They, moreover, assure us, that having promised to divide the glory of success with his ally, he, in consequence, delayed the attack, in expectation of the King of England's arrival.* The narratives of Bernard the Treasurer and of the Arabian authors, however, do not mention these facts, and seem to attribute no very important result to the operations of Philip against Acre. Such was the state of affairs, when, on the 5th day of June, 1191, Richard set sail from Cyprus, and approached the shores of Syria.

BOOK XVII.

THE fleet of Richard laid its course straight across the narrow sea between Cyprus and the Holy Land, and first came in sight of Palestine off Margat. Thence coasting along, the crusaders passed by Tortosa, Tripoli, Biblis, and Berytes; but in the neighbourhood of the latter city, somewhere between it and Sidon, a large three-masted vessel hove in sight, and apparently powerfully armed. Considerable difficulty was found in ascertaining to what country the ship belonged, for her commanders endeavoured to make it appear that she appertained to the King of France. The deceit, however, was discovered; and it was found that she was a Saracen

* Rigordus.

vessel, which had been sent to the relief of Acre, filled with troops and stores.

The light-armed galleys of the King of England instantly commenced the attack, and attempted to board the Mahomedan ship. Her sides, however, were so high, and the shower of arrows and stones so thick, that the crews of the galleys could not effect their object, and were forced to abandon the attempt. Richard then ordered his own ship to pursue the enemy; but the same impediments still presented themselves, and the king's seamen began to show some disinclination to the task, till the enraged monarch threatened to crucify the whole of them unless the enemy's vessel was captured. The attack was instantly renewed, and a number of the English warriors made their way to the deck, where a bloody fight took place, with very equal success, till at length the king commanded his galleys to attack the Mahomedan vessel with their iron beaks. The sides were pierced in many places, and the water flowing in, the vessel sunk. A multitude of the Saracens threw themselves into the sea, but were all drowned or killed but thirty-five, who received quarter by the king's command.* It was then found that the stores which the vessel had been conveying to Acre, comprised, besides food, an immense number of military engines, a large quantity of Greek fire, and also two hundred most poisonous serpents, intended

* The following bombastic and inaccurate account of this transaction is found in Mills' History of the Crusades. "In order to make the capture an unprofitable one, the emir commanded his troops to cut through the sides of their ship till the water should rush in: they then leaped on the decks of the English galleys. But the sanguinary and ungenerous Richard killed or cast overboard his defenceless enemies, or with an avarice equally detestable, saved the commanders for the sake of their ransom." This is not historical. The author cites Hoveden, Vinesauf, and Bromton; but neither in Hoveden, Vinesauf, nor Bromton, is there one word to justify these charges against Richard. Hoveden and Bromton say that the Saracens threw themselves naked into the sea when their ship was perforated by the beaks of the galleys; that a number of them were killed by the sailors, but the rest saved. No order, on the part of Richard, for killing them, is mentioned by any one. Those who were saved, we are informed by Vinesauf, were spared by the express command of the king; but nothing is said by him, or any one else, of their having been spared for their ransom. The only words that I can discover in any of the authors cited which can have led to the assertion that the emir himself ordered the vessel to be sunk, are the following in Vinesauf:—"Turei vero ab ipsius navis interioribus prorumpentes resistebant conglobati, eligentes aut fortiter mori aut adversarios viriliter repellere." I need not point out to the reader that if Mr. Mills founds his statement upon this, he must have laboured under an extraordinary misconception of the meaning of the author

to be sent forth into the Christian camp.* The Saracens fought with gallant determination, and apparently from the first had taken their resolution rather to perish than surrender. We are not informed whether the vessel was manned by any of the renegades who, having fled from the camp of Guy of Lusignan in the time of the famine, had embraced Islamism as the only means of escaping from starvation; but we know that those unhappy men were frequently employed by Saladin in his naval operations for the relief of Acre, and if such was the case in the present instance, it is not wonderful that they should fight with the determination of despair.

After this not unimportant victory, the fleet of the English king took its course towards Tyre, and anchored off that city for the night. It would appear, indeed, that Richard's reception by the lord of the place was not very cordial; and some authors even assert that Conrad refused to admit him into the town. On the following morning early, the fleet again weighed anchor, and sailing as before, along the coast, beheld the city of Acre, after a few hours' easy navigation. Its banner-covered towers seem to have excited great admiration in the English crusaders; and the Christian camp, which swept round it on the land side, containing troops from every part of Europe, in all the gay dresses of those times, with the forces of Saladin encamped upon the slope of the hills beyond, formed a spectacle at once gorgeous and fearful. Never at any period, from the commencement of the crusades, had such a force, on the one side or the other, swept the plains or covered the mountains of Syria; never had such a multitude of races, such differences of tongues and manners, such a variety of arms and dresses, been arrayed, either on the Christian or Mahomedan part. Within the city lay the beleaguered garrison, consisting of picked soldiers from the host of Islamism. Before the port, appeared the Christian fleets, denying entrance to all succour. Beneath the walls, English and French, Germans and Flemings, Spaniards and Burgundians, Italians and Sicilians, the wild inhabitant of Finland, the tall and stalwart Danes, the inhabitants of far northern isles, even, it is said, of Iceland itself, together with the gay and luxurious barons of Palestine, the proud, fierce

* Not only Vinesauf, but the Cardinal James of Vitry mentions the above curious fact.

Templars, and the shrewder, but not less selfish Hospitallers, closed in, rank upon rank, around the devoted town, determined to recover it for the Cross, or to perish in the attempt. The Crescent gleamed above. Egyptians, Syrians, Mesopotamians, the citizens of Damascus, Turks and Saracens, tribes from Armenia and Asia Minor, the far dwellers of Moussoul, and the swarthy wanderers of the desert, together, alas! with many a renegade from the Christian camp, spread out under the banners of yellow, and green, and black, that waved in a long-continued line from the heights of Mount Carmel to the sea on the other side. And now a new army appeared, superior in point of numbers, if we are to believe contemporary accounts, to any division which had yet sat down before Acre, and another monarch took the field against Saladin, whose deeds in the Holy Land were destined to leave behind them a renown fearful to the children of the Islamite, even to the present day; but dissensions were destined to snatch away the fruits which energy and courage obtained, and disunion to deprive the Christian force of that power which its numbers, its discipline, and its courage must have bestowed, had its leaders acted in harmony with each other.

Berengaria and the Queen of Sicily, with a large division of Richard's fleet, had reached Acre before the English monarch himself; and with knightly courtesy and grace, Philip Augustus, laying aside the memory of his sister's wrongs, went down to the shore to meet the fair bride of his ally, and carried her in his arms from the boat to the land.* The ground for Richard's camp was then allotted, the royal tent erected, and when the English sovereign at length appeared, the princes of the crusading force, with the King of France at their head, proceeded to receive and welcome him; and conducted him with honour and acclamations to his quarters. The fame of his military exploits was not only general in the Christian camp, but had even reached to the Saracens; and while his arrival spread joy and exultation amongst the hosts of the crusade, it produced deep depression in the Moslem tents, and in the city of Acre. "This king," says Bohaeddin, "was terrible in strength and proved

* Bernard the Treasurer.

in valour, and unconquerable in resolution. He had already rendered his name great in previous wars, and although he was inferior to the King of France in dignity and dominion, he was richer than him, braver, and more experienced in war." The same author informs us that, from the moment of Richard's arrival, terror and consternation spread amongst the Moslem, and only Saladin remained calm and firm, showing no sign of apprehension, but expressing his trust in God.

A whole night of rejoicing, throughout the extent of the Christian camp, followed the arrival of Richard before Acre. Songs and processions, with beating drums and sounding trumpets, were heard and seen in every part; and as it would appear that Richard brought with him vast stores of provisions from Cyprus, and distributed them with a liberal hand, the people might well rejoice on the arrival of a monarch who had just conquered a rich and fertile island, the possession of which would remove the necessity of depending upon Tyre for supplies. The wine-cup flowed and the feast took place, and the whole camp was illuminated during the night, marking out, for the eyes of the watchers in the Mahommedan camp above, the immense multitude of foemen that swarmed below, and the vast accession of strength which they had that day received. The greater part of that night, we are told, was spent by Richard and Philip Augustus in laying out their plans for the further attack of the city; but, from this point, up to the period of the departure of the King of France from Syria, the accounts of the French and English historians are totally at variance respecting the conduct of Richard and Philip. The statements of Rigordus are so brief and imperfect, that they cannot be received as even shaking the testimony of eye-witnesses both amongst the Saracens and amongst the English crusaders. The account of William the Breton, besides its bombastic exaggeration, sets out with a false assertion,* so distinctly rebutted by all authentic narratives that it renders the whole unworthy of credit; and

* He says, that before Richard's arrival the walls of Acre were thrown down in every part, and that both Saladin and the garrison were treating for the surrender of the place, but that Philip would not receive the submission of Acre till the English monarch was present. In fact, this statement of the old Breton is the complete type of a modern French bulletin.

William of Nangis, although his chronicle seems more sincere, is so greatly mistaken in his dates* that he affords very little assistance to the historian. In all the events, however, which succeeded Richard's appearance under the walls of Acre, Vinesauf is in a very great measure corroborated by the Arabians, of whom more than one was, like himself, an eye-witness. They saw from different points, it is true, and the accounts of each are of course coloured by religious and national prejudice, but in every page of the Mahommedan writers, and also very generally in Bernard the Treasurer, we find the strongest proofs of the English historian's sincerity and veracity.

Philip Augustus had not been inactive after his arrival. Bohaeddin tells us, that from that moment the attack against the city went on night and day; and it would appear from the account of the same author, that notwithstanding all which has been said regarding Philip's moderation, in waiting for the arrival of Richard, a general assault of the walls took place four days before† the King of England appeared in the Christian camp. No impression was made, however, upon the defences of the place, and the Arabians even assert that Philip attempted to negotiate with Saladin, who repulsed his envoy haughtily. Such was the state of the siege when Richard arrived; and, although Rigordus asserts that the King of France had battered the walls of Acre so successfully that nothing was wanting but a general assault to the capture of the place, if we are to believe the Arabians, Philip had left nothing undone to take it before the appearance of his ally, but had been completely frustrated by the gallantry and determination of the garrison within the walls, and the vigour and activity of the Mahommedan army without. Even on the very day before Richard's arrival at Acre, we find that an immense moveable tower of four stages, severally of wood, lead, iron, and brass, was moved up within five cubits of the walls, the battlements of which it completely com-

* This author declares that Richard did not set sail from Sicily till the month of August.

† Richard arrived on the 13 Gioumadi the first, otherwise the 8th of June, and a general assault took place on the 9 Gioumadi the first, after the arrival of Philip Augustus, and before that of Richard.

manded, but the Greek fire was again employed by the garrison, and the engine was totally destroyed.*

The rivalry between Richard and the King of France began almost immediately ; their first interview was full of friendly expressions and promises of co-operation, but the French monarch had taken a great number of soldiers into his pay at the rate of three besants per man, and Richard had scarcely set his foot on the shores of Syria, when the whole mass of the Pisans volunteered to enter his service for the term of the crusade. Richard, also, not to be outdone by the King of France, offered to all who would serve him the still higher pay of four besants ; and as the King of France had by this time openly espoused the cause of Conrad of Montferrat, while Richard had brought back Guy of Lusignan from Cyprus, more serious subjects of dissension were likely to appear every day, when the English monarch was suddenly seized with illness, and remained for some time incapable of any active exertion. He caused, nevertheless, his mangonels and other large military machines to be erected and put into a proper state for battering the gates of the town, and Philip, eager to overcome the obstinate resistance of the enemy, proposed an immediate assault. The King of England replied, that the state of his health, and the absence of many of his best troops, who had not yet reached the Syrian shore, would not permit of his undertaking the attack immediately ; † and Philip determined to storm the place without waiting for the recovery of his ally. It became generally rumoured afterwards, that illness was only an excuse, upon the part of Richard ; and Rigordus does not even mention that he was ill, or pretended to be ill at all, merely stating that he

* Bohaeddin.

† This is the first attack upon the town which Vinesauf mentions, after Richard's arrival at Acre. Many transactions, however, of different kinds had taken place in the mean time ; and the Arabian historians speak of several very severe combats, after Richard's arrival, and before this great effort on the part of the King of the French, which was made, according to the *Iter regis Hierosolymitanum*, on the 1st of July, the Monday after the festival of St. John the Baptist. According to Bohaeddin, there was a severe combat on the 14th of June (19 Gioumadi the first), and again, a general assault upon the town on the 18th (23 Gioumadi the first) ; and the Mahommedans also generally say, that from the moment of Richard's appearance before the walls the garrison had no peace from the continual attacks of the Christians.

refused to join his troops to those of the King of France for the purpose of storming the town. James of Vitry, certainly with greater impartiality, and probably with greater truth, throws the blame upon both kings, and shows that the opportunity of regaining the Holy Land was lost by their dissensions. Nevertheless, not the slightest doubt can exist that Richard was seriously ill at this period; and we find, from the Arabian historians, that he himself or his attendants, during his sickness, made use of several curious stratagems to obtain from Saladin poultry, fruits, and snow, which were not to be procured in the Christian camp at Acre, but were necessary to the English monarch in the fever by which he was afflicted.*

The attack of the King of France was unsuccessful, though it was carried on for several hours with great gallantry, and it would appear that one of the principal French nobles, with his followers, forced his way into the town and was killed between the walls.† While the general body of the crusading troops marched to the assault, Geoffrey of Lusignan remained with a chosen body to defend the trenches, a task of no slight importance. It had been previously arranged between Saladin and the garrison of Acre, that as soon as the city was assailed and in danger, the beating of drums and the sounding of trumpets from the walls should give notice of the attack to the Mahomedan troops upon the hills above. With unremitting activity and perseverance the great sultan had never failed, at the note of peril, to pour down his battalions upon the Christian lines; and no sooner did the roar of the attabals and trumpets reach his tent, than he mounted in haste and led down his forces in person to create a diversion in favour of the beleaguered city. The engagement which followed seems to have been one of the most furious and resolute of all the many fights which took place under the walls of Acre. Geoffrey of Lusignan conducted the defence of the lines with skill and courage, which calls forth the wondering exclamations of the chronicler. A part

* Bohaeddin and other Arabians say that Richard was at the point of death.

† Vinesauf gives a very impartial account of this attack, seeming to find as much pleasure in describing the gallant array and valiant efforts of the French troops, as he does in expatiating upon the exploits of Richard and the English crusaders.

of the French troops returned to his aid from the attack of the city, the rest of the crusading force assisted, and the trenches were maintained till nightfall, notwithstanding all the efforts of Saladin, who galloped, we are told, from rank to rank "with the fury of a lioness who has lost her young," encouraging his troops to the attack, wherever he saw them waver or retreat.* The defence of the city, however, had been resolute and successful; the French troops were forced to retreat; a number of Philip's military machines were destroyed by the Greek fire, and the monarch himself was so mortified at the bad success of his separate attack that he is said to have fallen ill from grief. It is more than probable, however, that he was at this time attacked by the fever which had been prevalent in the camp, though he suffered in a less degree than Richard, and was much sooner convalescent.

The illness of the English monarch had been very severe, and probably his recovery was owing to the kindness and liberality of an enemy. The burning heat of Syria, the close, hot air of the camp, and the little skill of the Christian physicians of that day, all tended to aggravate the disease under which the King of England laboured; but, either at the request of Richard, or from a feeling of generous sympathy, Saladin himself sent daily to his great adversary presents of fruit and ice, infinitely more valuable to Richard at that moment than gold or precious stones.†

The recovery of Richard was slow, and he remained for many days after all danger was passed in a state of languor which unfitted him for active exertion. In the mean time, however, his troops were not idle; his great military engines plied the walls day and night, and especially discharged the masses of stone with which they were loaded against a part of the defences called the *Cursed Tower*, so named from a tradition that it had been built with the thirty pieces of silver paid by the Jews to the traitor Judas. The effect of a well-directed and continuous attack upon one point soon became manifest,

* Bohaeddin.

† The fact of this act of courtesy on the part of Saladin is mentioned by most Christian authors, amongst the rest by Hoveden and Bromton. Vinesauf speaks of nectar having been received by the two kings during their sickness, by which he probably means iced sherbet. Bohaeddin and the other Arabian writers imply that Richard sent to ask the sultan for these refreshing luxuries, but the Latin authors speak of them as spontaneous gifts.

and it would appear not only that the discharge of the English engines was more skilfully conducted, but that the engines themselves were much more powerful than those which had been employed previous to Richard's arrival. They would carry, we are told, the heavy stone-shot, which Richard had brought as ballast from Messina, into the very interior of the market-place of the city; and by one ball, Vinesauf assures us, twelve Saracens were killed. Innumerable combats took place, and every sort of means were employed against the walls; the military engines called the Cat, the Sow, and the Belfry, were all tried, but on most occasions the showers of Greek fire rapidly destroyed those machines which approached near the battlements, and Philip had still the mortification of seeing all his efforts frustrated. Early in July another effort was made by the French troops to take the city by storm. Part of the walls were undermined, and being supported by thick posts of wood, as the miners proceeded, bundles of fagots were added, and then lighted, but the result was not such as had been expected. When the supporting pillars were burned through, the wall, it is true, subsided, but without falling, merely inclining a little outwards, but at the same time opposing an impassable barrier to the Christian troops. In another place, however, the French soldiery attempted to scale the walls, led on by the celebrated Alberic Clement, Marshal of France, who had sworn either to die or enter Acre that day. He succeeded, we find, in fixing one ladder, and instantly mounted sword in hand. The French knights, never wanting in courage, though too often in discretion, followed in great numbers; the ladder gave way under their weight, precipitating the whole troop to the ground, with the exception of their leader, who remained alone upon the walls, exposed to the whole fury of the enemy. For some time he continued to fight gallantly against a host of foes, but at length fell, overpowered by numbers, but mourned by the whole Christian host. We do not find that any effort was made from below to save him, by raising fresh ladders, but the Christian camp was at the same time fiercely attacked from without,* and the shower of arrows and Greek fire from the

* Vinesauf says that this assault upon the Christian intrenchments was led by an emir named Kabadin; but the Arabian authors universally say that it was Saladin himself who conducted the attack, and add, that he was badly seconded.

walls rendered all near approach most perilous. It was reserved for Richard to avenge the death of Alberic Clement; for the repulse of the French had hardly taken place, and the King of England himself was still in a state of great weakness, when he was found present at the spot where his engines were erected, directing their aim, and causing others to be constructed. Amongst the rest was one of those vast machines with many stages, which I have before mentioned, and which had been pushed very near to the walls. To its shelter Richard caused himself to be conveyed on silken cushions, and taking a cross-bow from one of the archers, he employed himself in discharging it at every Saracen who appeared upon the walls. It is curious that this weapon, from which he afterwards received his death wound, was a favourite one of Richard, and that he restored it to general use, at least in his own country, after it had nearly been abandoned. Seated under his large tower, but yet not completely sheltered from the arrows of the foe, Richard continued to annoy the enemy for several hours, killing many with his own hand. It is particularly noticed that a very fierce and powerful Saracen, who ventured to come forth upon the walls covered with the arms of Alberic Clement, fell immediately from a bolt out of Richard's cross-bow.

The presence of the king acted as the strongest encouragement to his engineers; and at length not only the Cursed Tower but a considerable part of the wall was battered down by the petraries of the English army. An immediate assault was ordered, and early in the morning the forces of Richard marched to the attack, under the banners of the Earl of Leicester, Andrew of Cavegin, and Hugo le Brune, supported by the warlike Bishop of Salisbury and the whole force of the Pisans. It does not appear that the French gave the slightest assistance to Richard's troops; but it is stated elsewhere that a general agreement had been made between the two kings, to the effect that while the soldiers of one nation mounted to the assault, the other should guard the trenches. Whether this was really the case or not, it was remarked with

Bohaeddin mentions with admiration the feats of the Christian warriors in defence of their lines, and declares that one of the leaders was seen to be struck with arrows or stones more than fifty times without yielding a step, till at length a pot of Greek fire was thrown upon him, which consumed him entirely.

severe censure by the best informed contemporaries, that Richard and Philip made no simultaneous effort to take the town, and that while one assailed it valiantly, the other remained perfectly idle.* On the present occasion the Saracens crowded to the breach, and more than once the English, and the Pisans who seconded them in the most gallant manner, rushed up to the assault, and were driven back. The combat was determined and furious; but it was decided by the terrible Greek fire, which, cast in showers upon the assailants, destroyed them by a horrible death, notwithstanding the protection of their armour.† Had the city been attacked at the same time by the French army, leaving the Knights of the Temple and Hospital, and the Barons of Palestine and the mixed multitude of crusaders from Spain, Germany, Belgium, and Italy, to defend the trenches, there can be little doubt that Acre would have been taken by assault that day. Richard's troops, however, were unsuccessful; the greater part of the host are said to have been at dinner‡ while their English comrades attacked the town, and the assault was abandoned after several hours' hard fighting, in the course of which we are informed, by a Mahommedan author,§ the English army lost six of its most illustrious warriors.

At the end of the Christian efforts, the garrison of Acre discovered how great had been their danger. A large part of the wall was in ruins, one of their principal towers fallen, and the chief defence they had left, as they clearly perceived, was the dissension which existed between the Kings of France and England. Great scarcity reigned in the town; the citizens were full of panic; the garrison itself desponded;

* William of Newbury.

† The little history of Richard the First, which I have before mentioned, making a great many fanciful additions to the plain statements of contemporaries, declares, in regard to the Greek fire, that it "ran down the armour of the Christians in a blazing stream, and, wherever it entered a joint or rivet, burned to the bone." The writer seems to have forgotten that there were no joints or rivets in the armour of that day. Plate armour was not introduced till long afterwards, even for the elbows or knees; the hauberk, or shirt of chain-mail, was the only defensive covering then used, and it may be easily understood that the Greek fire found its way through this texture more easily than it could have done through a coat of plate. The simple words of Vinesauf are as follows:—"Turcorum multitudo jugiter crescebat ignem Græcum etiam jaculantium in ipsos, cujus incendium tandem non ferentes Armigeros retrocedere coegit, et a turri descendere, quorum etiam nonnulli armis cæsi sunt et incendio perniciosissimo combusti."

‡ Vinesauf.

§ Bohaeddin.

and the commandant of the city, Saifeddin Maschtoub, and the emir Caracousch, the famous engineer, took the opportunity of a temporary suspension of attack to demand a parley, and visit the tent of the King of France.* They then offered the two kings to surrender the city, unless it should be succoured by Saladin immediately, upon the sole condition that all the Mahommedans within the walls should be allowed to depart, with their arms and baggage. The offer, however, was refused, and the Christian monarchs demanded the whole territory which had belonged to the kingdom of Jerusalem at the time of the crusade of Louis the Young,† together with the restitution of the Holy Cross, and the liberation of all Christian prisoners. This was undoubtedly an excessive demand, with which the emirs had no power to comply; but it does not appear at all clear by whom this concession was required; for the Arabian historians differ totally from the European writers upon the subject, and the Europeans from each other. Vinesauf says, that Philip Augustus and almost all the French were willing to accept the terms offered by the governors of Acre, but that Richard refused anything but the unconditional surrender of the city, which was already reduced to an indefensible state. Richard of Devizes gives much the same account as Vinesauf, and Hoveden speaks of both the monarchs as acting perfectly in harmony; but the Arabian authors give a very different account; represent Maschtoub as negotiating with the King of France alone, and Philip as making a brutal and insolent reply, which called from the governor a threat not to surrender the city till each man of the garrison had killed fifty of the enemy and had himself fallen.

Certain it is, that when the emirs‡ returned to the city, they found that the hesitation and terror which always follow the commencement of negotiations for surrender on the part of a place closely pressed, had taken complete possession of the garrison and people of Acre. Many of them fled during

* Vinesauf disfigures the names of the two emirs, and calls them Mestoc and Caracois.

† Hoveden. He states that the two emirs came to negotiate with both the kings, and generally that both the kings refused their petition.

‡ The Arabians in general only mention one of the commanders in Acre—namely, Maschtoub, as having taken part in these negotiations, but all the Christian authorities state that Caracousch was also present.

the subsequent night. Some of them reached the camp of Saladin, and were received with angry reproaches by the sultan, and punished by the deprivation of all they held under him.* Others perished by the way, either in the waters or by the sword of the Christians;† but still more sought safety in apostacy; and entering the Christian camp, embraced, or pretended to embrace, the religion of the enemy.‡

Although marvels were by this time a little discredited; though the appearances of devils, of angels, and of saints were by no means so frequent as in the days of the first crusade; though the fumes of drowsy indigestion no longer passed for visions of prophetic truth; yet miraculous interpositions were not wanting either in the Mussulman or the Christian camp. On the 5th of July, in the middle of the night, an extraordinary sound was heard in both camps; the ground shook, and the excited imagination of the soldiers took advantage of an earthquake to frame dreams of success for their own consolation. Angelic soldiers, habited in green, were seen by the Moslem to enter the city, while the Virgin Mary descended, for the crusaders, upon the trembling earth, and promised speedy success against the enemies of the Cross. But the walls of Acre were in ruins, and the vision of the Saracens was but one of the hallucinations of despair. The commanders in Acre wrote a letter to Saladin, informing him that they had sworn to die sooner than surrender, and beseeching him only to afford a diversion in their favour, that they might hold out the city to the last.§ It would appear, however, that several communications took place between various emirs within the town and their great monarch. The demands of the Christians for the cession of the whole of Palestine were made known to Saladin, and rejected by him, although he was most anxious to save the devoted garrison which had so long and resolutely defended the besieged city. After having offered the crusaders to surrender Acre, with all that it contained, except the garrison,|| and to exchange a Christian prisoner for every Mussulman within the town,¶ which proposal was rejected, he ordered Masch-

* Emadeddin.

§ Bohaeddin.

† Ibn-alatir.

|| Ibid.

‡ Vinesauf.

¶ Ibn-alatir.

toub and his companions to issue forth in a body during the night at an hour named, and endeavour to cut their way through the Christian camp, taking the road by the sea. He promised at the same time to descend from the heights, with his whole army, and favour the efforts of the garrison by a fierce attack upon the Christian lines. This plan was accordingly followed ; but, to the surprise of the Mahommedans, the crusaders were found prepared both to repel the troops of the sultan and to drive the garrison back within the walls. The combat was furious and long, but Saladin retreated worsted from the engagement, and the emirs were forced to lead back their dispirited forces to the shelter of the city.

One of the most curious circumstances connected with the siege of Acre explains the state of preparation in which the Christian army was found. It would appear, from all accounts, that there was treachery in both hosts. It was remarked by the crusaders that wherever the banner of Conrad of Montferrat appeared in the attacks upon the city, there was peace around it ; and it is also distinctly stated that on the occasion when Alberic Clement was left alone upon the walls, Conrad and his forces retreated from the attack, and refused to shoot an arrow or hurl a stone at the Mussulmans on the battlements.* At the same time the crusaders derived information of everything of importance which passed within the town, from anonymous letters, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, shot into their camp from the walls during the night. These letters uniformly began with the peculiar formula—"In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen ;" and the writer stated that he was a Christian ; but neither before nor after the capture of the city, could it be discovered to whom the crusading princes were indebted for such intelligence.† That he stood high in the confidence of the Mahommedan leaders there can be no doubt, for their most secret enterprises were all known to him ; and it is by no means clear that he was not one of the commanders of the Mussulman troops, for amongst the Arabian princes there were several who had embraced Christianity without daring to avow the fact. Even the famous Kilig Arslan himself, the Sultan of Iconium, is somewhat more than suspected of having followed this course ; so much so, indeed, that Nour-

* Hoveden.

† Ibid.

eddin compelled him at one time publicly to renew his profession of faith in the Prophet of Islam.

Driven back into the town, perishing with hunger, with their defences battered down, and their friends from without repulsed, the garrison of Acre had no choice but to make the best terms they could, and to surrender. Accordingly, on Friday, the 12th of July, the Kings of France and England, with all the princes of the crusading army, assembled in the tent of the Grand Master of the Temple, and there received the commanders of the garrison of Acre. After some debate, it was agreed that the city, with all which it contained, should be immediately surrendered; that two hundred and fifty noble Christian captives, actually in Acre, should be given up without ransom; that the Mahommedan inhabitants of the town, leaving all their arms, goods, and provisions, should go forth, with merely their clothing; that two hundred thousand besants should be paid within a certain term for the redemption of the garrison; that the Holy Cross should be restored by Saladin; and that a number of Christian captives, in the hands of the sultan, which number is differently stated by almost every Christian and every Mahommedan historian, varying from one thousand to two thousand five hundred, should be brought to Acre, and set free at the term fixed for the payment of the money.* It is necessary here to remark, that the negotiations were conducted and the convention settled by means of an interpreter, and that Saladin himself was not a party to the act. It was distinctly stated, however, that the emirs and the troops of the garrison should abide as prisoners in the hands of the crusading princes, and if the money was not paid, and the other terms fulfilled at the period or periods fixed, they were to remain at the mercy of their captors.

While these transactions were taking place in the Christian camp, Saladin was making eager preparations upon the hills to execute one last and resolute attempt for the deliverance of his faithful garrison. He had called together his council, and from the tent where their consultations were going on,

* Some say this term was forty days after the capitulation (Hoveden); some say one month (Vinesauf); some say that half the sum was to be paid in a month, and the prisoners to be delivered at the same time, and that the remainder of the ransom was to be liquidated at the end of two months (Ibn-alatir).

the crusading lines and the desolated city of Acre, with its ruined walls, could be seen by the princes of Islam. The opinions of the councillors were divided. Some were eager for an instant attack upon the enemy's intrenchments; some represented that, after the experience they had gained of the valour and discipline of the Christians, and the knowledge possessed of their vast numbers, it would be only sacrificing the troops of the true faith to engage in an enterprise that must be unsuccessful; but in the midst of their deliberations, strange movements were seen in the plains below, and suddenly the Crescent fell, and the standard of the Cross waved upon the crumbling battlements of Acre.*

BOOK XVIII.

IN order to give a continuous narrative of the military events connected with the siege of Acre, I have omitted many occurrences affecting Richard, and only lightly touched upon others which now demand a full detail. The feelings of friendly regard which had once been apparent in the conduct of Philip Augustus to Richard Cœur-de-Lion, if ever in reality they existed at all, had been greatly weakened by the circumstances which attended their mutual stay in Sicily, and vanished entirely during the siege of Acre. It is probable that the King of France did not at all regret that Richard lingered some time behind him at Messina; for there is every proof that he plied the walls of Ptolemais incessantly after his arrival, and much reason to suppose that although he affected to wait for the coming of the English king, he would not have scrupled to take the city by storm during Richard's absence, had he found it possible to effect that object. Perceiving, however, that his strength was not sufficient for the purpose, we may well suppose that the French sovereign was somewhat discontented that his ally should remain in Cyprus, marching from conquest to conquest, while he sat foiled beneath the battlements of Acre. Richard, on the other hand, had been assured in Cyprus that

* Bohaeddin. Emadeddin.

the King of France only waited for his arrival to complete a conquest which was already secure, and it is very possible that the English prince was not satisfied with the implied boast, and did not credit altogether the assertion of Philip's power to take the place. The inspection of the walls upon his arrival, which showed none of those formidable breaches he had been taught to expect, must have proved to him that Acre was not yet defenceless, and that the siege had not yet nearly reached its end. There might be some satisfaction in withholding his troops from the assault, when the French mounted to storm the walls; some bitter pleasure in allowing them to prove their boast that Acre was in their power.

With such feelings, the two kings approached questions of great difficulty, amongst the first of which was that of the possession of the throne of Jerusalem, and with it were combined a thousand others, both delicate and dangerous. The Marquis of Montferrat was nearly related to the King of France, and Philip had at once espoused his cause. Guy of Lusignan, on the contrary, was born a vassal of the Kings of England, Dukes of Aquitaine, and consequently had some claim to their assistance in support of his rights. The representations which he had made at Cyprus, and perhaps, also, a consideration of the title under which he had possessed, and still demanded the throne, induced Richard to maintain his cause warmly. It is not necessary here to consider intricate questions of feudal law; but I may briefly state the pleas of either party. Guy of Lusignan had been placed on the throne of Jerusalem, not merely as the husband of Sybilla, but with some of the forms of election, which, it would indeed appear, were fundamental in the constitution of the kingdom; and he now claimed to hold the crown, notwithstanding her death, by right of his coronation, which, as I have already stated in another place, was solemnised after that of Sybilla. It is clear that a great number of the barons of Palestine were not present at the coronation; but that fact could scarcely invalidate his title, when a number of them were consenting witnesses, and all of them, not even excepting the celebrated Baldwin of Ramla, did homage to Guy at an after period. It is evident, from every account, that the act of homage was performed to Guy, and not to Sybilla; that Guy had, in short, been recognised as king,

without any stipulations regarding the succession to the throne on the death of his wife; and although it was urged that he had not proved himself able to defend the kingdom he had obtained, Lusignan might well reply that a great part of the disasters which had occurred during his short reign, and which had left him a prisoner in the hands of Saladin, were attributable to dissensions amongst his vassals, and to treason on the part of his commanders.

Conrad of Montferrat maintained that his wife Isabella was the natural heiress to the crown, not only after the death of Sybilla, her half-sister, but even at the death of Baldwin, as the fruit of a legitimate marriage, whereas Sybilla was the offspring of an alliance which had been pronounced illegal, and even incestuous. At all events, he contended that the rights of Guy were only derived from Sybilla, and that her death, without heirs of her body, naturally conveyed the crown to her sister. At the same time, the whole question was further complicated by the following facts. Sybilla was the daughter of Almeric, by Agnes de Courtnay, his first wife, from whom he had been divorced upon the pretence of relationship; but at the same time, it had been solemnly declared, in the very act which annulled the marriage, that the children which had issued from it were to be considered as legitimate. Whatever affected her title would have affected that of her brother Baldwin, which had never been disputed, and some doubts as to the legality of the divorce between Almeric and Agnes might have even affected the legitimacy of Isabella herself. A still greater doubt existed as to the legality of the divorce between Humphrey of Thoron and Isabella, and as to the marriage of Isabella (even then pregnant by her first husband) with Conrad of Montferrat. No doubt could exist that the most unjustifiable means had been taken to bring about this unhallowed union between an ambitious prince and a libidinous woman; that adultery, bribery, violence, and corruption had all had their share as means, and that anathema and excommunication had followed, pronounced by a high-minded and independent prelate.

Such was the state of one of the questions which presented themselves to Philip and Richard on the arrival of the latter before Acre; but the determination of the King of France

to support the claims of Conrad was probably strengthened by the jealousy which Richard's appearance and reception in the midst of the Christian host created. Till the English monarch appeared, the King of France had commanded in all things ; but the moment that Richard set his foot on the shores of Palestine, the star of Philip's glory was eclipsed. The renown, the wealth, the power, the daring, the majestic presence, the kingly look, the knightly person of the monarch with the lion-heart, outshone his more politic but less energetic rival, and left a mighty sovereign to play a secondary part in the presence of one who was his vassal for half his dominions. Whatever was the equity of the case between Conrad and Guy, it is perfectly clear that personal rivalry and party spirit took place of all other considerations amongst those by whom the great question was to be decided. But Philip speedily put in a claim, unjust in itself, and which was only calculated to create fresh discord. It had been agreed between the two kings, that all their acquisitions in the holy war should be divided equally between them ; and the French monarch now demanded one-half of the island of Cyprus and of the spoils which Richard had taken. To this the English king replied, that Cyprus was not at all in the Holy Land, that his hostilities with Isaac formed no part of the holy war, but had been undertaken to obtain personal reparation for a personal wrong. Philip, however, still persisted ; and Richard, it would appear, then replied, that if Philip put such an interpretation upon the treaty between them, he would consent to divide Cyprus and its treasures with him, upon condition that he divided with him the county of Flanders and the treasures which the late count had left. This demand was as unreasonable, upon his part, as the original claim of the French monarch ; but it galled Philip sorely, and at length, in the general council of the crusading camp, it was decided that Cyprus formed no part of what was generally termed the pilgrimage ; and its conquest consequently could not be considered as included in the holy war.

The still more important question of the claims of Guy and Conrad gave occasion to long and angry debates, both publicly in the council and in private between the two kings. Richard maintained fiercely and resolutely the rights of Guy

of Lusignan ; and Guy charged his rival, before the leaders of the army, with embezzling the revenues of the state and turning them from their legitimate use, in the recovery of Palestine. Conrad justified himself as to their appropriation, on the plea of his wife's title to the crown, but said little in regard to the purposes to which he had applied them. The conference on this point was terminated by Geoffrey of Lusignan, the brother of the king, one of the most renowned warriors of the camp, rising to charge Conrad with falsehood and treason to the Christian cause, and challenging him to the trial by battle. Conrad, though a man of undoubted courage and daring, did not take up the gage, to have accepted which might, in those days, be considered as unbecoming the sovereign dignity to which he laid claim, but quitted the council, amidst the scoffs of the partisans of Lusignan, and immediately retired to Tyre, whence he only returned at the earnest solicitation of the King of France. His absence was not serviceable to him : the old charges against him, of having attempted to starve the Christian army under the walls of Acre, were revived ; and rumours spread thick and fast of treaties with Saladin, and a criminal understanding between him and the Moslem. After the fall of Acre, however, the question of the rights of the two claimants was once more brought formally before the two kings, and Philip was unwillingly obliged to agree that Guy of Lusignan should retain the sovereignty of the kingdom of Jerusalem during his life ; but it was stipulated, that at his decease, whether he married again and left children or not, the crown should devolve upon Isabella and her heirs, the young Marquis of Montferrat being joined with her in authority. In the mean time, Tyre, Sidon, and Beiruth were assigned as fiefs to Conrad of Montferrat ; and Joppa and Ascalon to Geoffrey of Lusignan ; while the revenues of the port of Acre remained for some time in the hands of the Templars and Hospitallers, upon what plea, or under what circumstances, it is very difficult to discover.*

* It has been stated that the revenues of the port of Acre were placed in the hands of the military orders, at the period of the challenge given by Geoffrey of Lusignan to Conrad, and that the Templars and Hospitallers were to collect them till Richard and Philip had decided between the two claimants to the throne of Jerusalem ; but it is to be remarked that, at the time of the challenge, Acre

Acre itself was occupied equally by the two kings ; but the Christian inhabitants, who had been expelled by the Turks, were allowed to put in their claim to their former possessions in the city. Philip took up his residence in the house of the Templars, while Richard, with his queen and his sister, occupied the old royal palace.* Ease and luxury succeeded to the labours of war : Saladin withdrew his forces from the neighbourhood of the city ; and abundant supplies flowed in, teaching the crusaders to forget the miseries they had endured, and the objects which they had sworn to obtain. Nevertheless, Acre had not fallen a day ere a rumour spread that it was the intention of the King of France to withdraw from the crusade. No open declaration of this purpose was made, but preparations were observed which seemed to confirm the tale ; and Richard, in order to obtain some decisive indication of Philip's intention, proposed that they should both swear to prosecute the war in person for three years. The oath was refused by the King of France, and no further doubt remained as to his intentions. Thus driven to declare himself, Philip boldly demanded permission of his confederate to quit the Holy Land, and return to his own country.

Richard, probably, was not surprised, though he was indignant at Philip's abandonment of a cause which he had sworn to maintain. No valid excuse existed. There were no intestine wars in France. No dangers or difficulties required his presence in his own country ; and the only fresh inducement which had arisen, since the moment of his departure, to bring about his speedy return, was the death of the Count of Flanders, and the prospect of appropriating, easily, his wealth and territories. Richard, however, had personal motives for viewing his departure with alarm. His own continental territories were left exposed to dangers, which were unforeseen and not provided against when the King of France set out with his brother monarch for Palestine. While warring in the east, the French sovereign

had not surrendered, and thus this version of the affair cannot be correct. It would appear, also, that the military friars continued to receive the revenues long after the question of sovereignty had been decided. Hoveden seems to have gathered together into one irregular view a great many facts which were in reality scattered over a considerable space of time.

* Vinesauf.

was restrained from pursuing those ambitious projects which he had always entertained against the French possessions of the English crown; and Richard had now learned, at least in some degree, with what art and perseverance the schemes of his unfriendly ally could be executed. He could not, however, refuse to liberate Philip from his engagements without an open breach between them, which would have been dangerous to both, and detrimental to the cause of Christendom. He replied, then, scornfully and indignantly, that it would be an eternal disgrace to Philip if he left Palestine before the objects were accomplished which brought him thither; but the English monarch added, that if the King of France felt himself too weak and sickly to remain, and feared that he should die in Palestine, he might depart. He bound him, however, by a fresh oath, not only to refrain from any attack upon the possessions of the English crown upon the Continent, but to protect them against all others.

Having solemnly entered into this engagement, Philip hurried his preparations, amidst the murmurs and maledictions of the people;* but, even in departing, he gave fresh signs of his enmity towards the King of England. Although, in order to escape a part of the disgrace attending upon his desertion, he left the Duke of Burgundy, with a small force, to carry on the war on his behalf, and sent another detachment to the assistance of the Prince of Antioch, he, nevertheless, carried off with him to Tyre all the Saracen captives which had fallen to his share, setting sail for that city on the 1st of August.† Vinesauf mentions, as the cause of this act, that Philip expected to be able to obtain a hundred thousand pieces of gold, or more, for their ransom; but even were this the case, the transaction loses nothing of its disgraceful character, inasmuch as he and Richard were both bound by the convention into which they had entered with the garrison at Acre, and neither had any right to treat apart for the deliverance of his prisoners. That Philip was very greatly in want of money, there can be no doubt, for we find that after his departure, the division of his army

* Vinesauf.

† Some writers say that he set sail on the 31st of July, but Vinesauf is precise, marking the day as that of St. Peter ad Vincula, which is the 1st of August.

which he left behind was in such a state of distress, that the Duke of Burgundy was obliged to borrow ten thousand marks of silver from the King of England for the support of his forces, and that Richard, out of compassion for their sufferings, distributed large sums of gold and silver amongst the French soldiery.

A pause took place in the war for some time, while Richard waited for the fulfilment, on the part of the Saracens, of the convention of Acre; and Philip, after having remained a few days in Tyre, sailed away towards his own dominions, leaving his Mahommedan prisoners in the hands of Conrad of Montferrat. As the term approached at which Saladin, on performing his part of the treaty, might demand the liberation of his subjects from the King of England, who remained in command of the army, Richard sent off messengers to Tyre, requiring that Conrad should immediately bring the hostages back to Acre, which town he was busily fortifying as a strong point in the rear during his future operations. Conrad, however, distinctly refused to comply with the monarch's demand; and giving way to his impetuous spirit, Richard declared that he would go in person and take the hostages from his hands. He was dissuaded, however, by the Duke of Burgundy and several of his wiser advisers from a step which would have infallibly brought fresh dissensions into the councils of the invading army; and the Duke of Burgundy, with two other French nobles, found means to persuade the Marquis of Montferrat to give up the hostages, though they were unable to persuade him to join his forces to those of the crusading princes in Acre.

One of the most painful and one of the most obscure points of Richard's history followed very speedily upon the departure of the King of France from Tyre. The terms of the treaty for the capitulation of Acre are very indistinctly stated by contemporaries, each of whom differs on some point from the others. The account of one of the Arabs, however, which comes nearer than any other to the statements of the Christians, may perhaps be taken as a safe guide as to the mere facts, rejecting his comments upon the conduct of the enemy, in which prejudice had probably a large share. From Ibn-alatir we learn that the Saracen garrison of Acre had agreed, on behalf of Saladin, to sur-

render the town, to pay the sum of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, and to restore to liberty two thousand five hundred Christian prisoners, of whom five hundred were to be of noble birth. Upon these conditions, together with the restitution of the real Cross, and the payment of fourteen thousand pieces of gold to Conrad of Montferrat and his followers, the garrison and inhabitants of Acre were to be permitted to go forth, with their goods; but time was allowed for the payment of the money and the liberation of the prisoners. The first term, at which one half of the sum and an equal proportion of the prisoners were to be delivered to the Christian commissioners, was the 10th* of the month of August, and a further delay of a month was allowed for the conclusion of the whole transaction. Such is the statement of the Arabian historian; but it appears clear, that on the 10th of the month nothing whatsoever had been done on the part of Saladin towards the fulfilment of the treaty entered into by his generals in Acre. The same historian, however, admits, that although the sultan had at first hesitated as to the ratification of a treaty drawn up without his consent, he had afterwards, by the advice of his council, agreed to fulfil the conditions, in order to save the lives of so many of his gallant followers.

It unfortunately happened, we are told by Bohaeddin, that Saladin could not collect the number of prisoners required at the end of the first term; and both by the accounts of the Christians and that of Ibn-alatir, it would seem that the sultan sought for a delay, and strove to obtain it in not the most straightforward manner: proposing to Richard and the Duke of Burgundy, either to give them the money and the prisoners which he had been able to collect, together with the real Cross, upon receiving which, and hos-

* Great difficulties occur in reconciling the dates, as given by the Arabian and the Christian authors. Ibn-alatir says that the town was taken on Friday, the 17th of Gioumadi the second, which would bring it, according to my calculation, to the 11th of July. Now, the 11th of July did not fall on a Friday, but on a Thursday. Then, again, we find it stated by most authors, that a month and ten days elapsed after the fall of Acre before Richard put the Saracen hostages to death; and Vinesauf tells us that this barbarous execution took place on the Friday after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, which fell that year on the 16th of August. I can only conclude that a lunar month was meant, especially as I find that some of the Arabs state only eight days to have elapsed after the term, before the decapitation of their brethren.

tages for the fulfilment of the other conditions, they were to set the whole of the prisoners in Acre free; or that they should liberate a part of the Moslem captives, and give hostages themselves for the emancipation of the rest at an after period. This was an important deviation from the terms of the original treaty, and one which could not be fairly demanded by a prince who was not in a condition to fulfil his part of the engagements already entered into. Much negotiation, it would appear, took place, and from the statements both of the Arabs and the Christians we gather, that on the day fixed for the first term, the council of the crusading army assembled, and decided that if within ten days the stipulations were not fulfilled, the prisoners were to be put to death, which terrible sentence was immediately announced to Saladin. The sultan replied, that if the slightest injury were done to them, he would retaliate upon every Christian in his power; but Richard was not to be turned from his purpose, and he accordingly waited in stern tranquillity till the 20th of August had arrived, when, marching out of Acre at the head of his forces, he led the portion of prisoners which had been allotted to himself within sight of the Saracen camp, and there ordered their heads to be struck off, which was executed with zeal and satisfaction by his bigoted soldiery. At the same time, a similar cruel and sanguinary act was performed within the walls of Acre by the Duke of Burgundy; and, in all, it is computed that on that day more than five thousand Mussulmans were put to death. Every civilised man must look upon this picture with horror. It not only shows the barbarism of the age, but proves that Richard fully participated in the savage feelings of the times. But we must not be led by our abhorrence of so revolting a deed into the absurd and unphilosophical view taken by some modern authors of the relative position, in point of civilisation, of the Saracens and the Christians at this period. We must recollect the barbarous massacre by Saladin of the Christian prisoners after the battle of Tiberiad, and not forget a thousand other facts stated, even with commendation, by the Arabian writers, which show that, in regard to sanguinary cruelty, there was no difference whatever between the professors of the two religions. It is fair also to

say, that the Mahommedans added the excesses of brutal lust to the vengeful thirst of blood, and that acts are recorded by themselves of their conduct to their female prisoners which rendered even the slaughter of a captive and defenceless enemy but a trifling offence against civilisation.

One of the Arabian writers* accuses Richard of bad faith, in putting the hostages to death ; saying, that it had been stipulated, if the ransom were paid they were to be set at liberty, and if not, were to be treated as prisoners of war. It must be recollected, however, that in those days prisoners of war unransomed were very frequently put to death, both by Saracens and Franks. But so wholesale a massacre in cold blood would seem to have shocked even the most bigoted of the Christian writers ; and instead of justifying it as an act of reprisal for the slaughter of the prisoners at Tiberiad, Hoveden asserts that it took place in retaliation for a similar barbarous deed performed by Saladin some days before. He declares, that on receiving an intimation that the Moslem captives would be put to death unless the terms of the treaty were fulfilled, the great monarch led forth the Christian prisoners whom he had collected, and, in sight of the crusading army, decapitated them all, and adds, that the Franks rushed to arms, and attacked the forces of the sultan, though without any important result. No mention is made by any Arabian writer of this massacre of the Christians ; and Emadeddin reverses the tale, and declares that the Mussulman forces, indignant at the cruelty shown to their brethren, assailed the army of the English king, and were engaged with it for some time in a furious combat. It must be added, that Vinesauf, who was an eye-witness, does not in any respect confirm the account of Hoveden. The statements of both Arabian and European writers are varying, obscure, and confused, in regard to this terrible event ; but the following facts appear clear. Saladin did not fulfil the terms of the capitulation of Acre ; the council of the Christian princes, at the end of the period stipulated for the partial execution of the treaty, decided unanimously that the hostages should be put to death ; and that Richard and the Duke of Burgundy acted upon this decision, after having allowed a delay

* Bohaeddin.

of ten days, to see if Saladin would perform his part of the convention.

A few of the captives were spared, in cases where their rank and renown afforded the chance of their being afterwards exchanged for Christian knights; and the whole scene of blood and cruelty was closed, we are assured, by a search for gold and jewels in the entrails of the slain, and by the extraction of the gall-bladders of the unfortunate Mahomedans for "*medicinal uses*!" Superstition and cruelty always go together, and we can well comprehend how those who would slaughter five thousand defenceless men in cold blood, might imagine that the gall of a Saracen was different from that of a Christian.

The health and strength of Richard was now fully restored, and this sanguinary execution over, his first object was to pursue the war in which he was engaged to a conclusion. He determined to direct his march towards Ascalon, along the shores of the sea; the fleet and the army advancing side by side. Some days were consumed in embarking the necessary stores;* but when all was prepared, a new obstacle presented itself, in the unwillingness of many of the crusaders, especially the French, to quit the pleasures and repose of Acre. The English monarch and his own troops marched out of the gates, and encamped in the plain, preparatory to the advance upon Ascalon; but it was not without persuasions, prayers, bribes, and punishment, in some cases, that Richard could induce the rest of the crusaders to follow. Even this first step, however, did not pass without opposition on the part of Saladin. Clouds of his light horsemen whirled round the Christian camp, and Richard was more frequently obliged to perform the duties of common soldier than that of general. He was always the first, we are told, to go forth armed against any of these bodies of the enemy; but, notwithstanding his daring courage, he took care not to pursue them too far and too rashly. Such was not the case, however, with some of his companions; and a

* This is the first time, as far as I can remember, that I find the word *biscuit* employed by our old chroniclers. Vinesauf says, book iv., chap. v., "Igitur ex præceptor victualia quæ x. diebus sufficerent navibus imposuerunt exercitui apportandum, panem scil. *bisocutum* et farinam, carnes et vina, et quæ viderentur esui necessaria."

Hungarian count of great renown, as well as one of the king's marshals, called Hugh of Poitou, were taken by the Saracens in consequence of their advancing imprudently into the midst of the enemy. Richard made a gallant effort to rescue his friends, but they were carried away captive.

During the stay of the armies in Acre, luxury and debauchery would seem to have prevailed amongst all classes; so that the physical strength of the soldiers of the Cross, which had resisted the labours and privations of the long siege, was diminished by the intemperance of the city. Warned by this fact, Richard drew up strict regulations for the further proceedings of his army. No women were suffered to accompany it on the march, and even his queen, his sister, and their companions were left behind in Acre, with a strong body of men for their guard, under the command of Bertrand of Verdun. It was agreed that the van and the rear-guard should be alternately formed by the English and French troops, and by the Knights of the Temple and the Hospital; and a short first day's march was made on the eve of St. Bartholomew's day, which festival fell on Saturday, the 24th of August. The Mahomedan forces crowned the heights, ready to sweep down upon the troops of the Cross as they passed the river, but so strict was the discipline which Richard had established, that no opportunity of attack was afforded to the enemy; and the crusading army, after having crossed the stream, encamped in safety at a little distance from the city. They there remained for the whole of one day, in order to give time for any of those who might be still lagging behind in the town, to join the host; and on Sunday, the 26th of August, the march for Ascalon really commenced, in the most perfect order. Advancing with banners and pennons of various shapes and different bearings displayed, with the sea and the fleet upon the right hand, and the mountains and the Saracen army on the left, the host of the crusade approached the hills which at some points between Acre and Ascalon came down to the shores of the Mediterranean. The van was led by Richard in person, with what is called the Norman standard (into a long description of which his historian enters*), borne on a four-wheeled car before him. The rear was brought up by the Duke of Burgundy and the French troops, who fol-

* Vinesauf.

lowed somewhat slowly, till at length the advance reached the narrow passes between the hills and the sea. Richard had proceeded some way, it would appear, into these defiles, and the line of the army had become very much attenuated, when, sweeping round the rear-guard, the forces of Saladin fell upon the baggage. A gallant defence was made; but the increasing numbers of the Mahommedan cavalry threatened every moment to overpower the scattered and irregular resistance of the French. A great deal of booty was made; many of the Christians were killed; and the whole rear-guard was thrown into confusion and disarray, when John Fitzlucy, spurring rapidly after the King of England, brought him the first news of the disaster. Richard instantly turned his horse, and, galloping furiously to the rear, speedily turned the tide of battle. Striking to the right and left, each sweep of his heavy sword told fatally amongst the astonished Saracens, who fled from the face of Richard, says his historian, as the Philistines from the face of Maccabeus. The English monarch was powerfully seconded in the combat by his ancient enemy, William des Barres; and from that moment a perfect reconciliation took place between the two warriors. The Mahommedan forces retired to a greater distance, still watching the crusaders on their march, till, having reached the banks of a large river, the King of England pitched his tents in the midst of a wide plain.

The warning they had received in the pass was not without its effect upon the forces of the Cross. The march was resumed on the following day, and although, we are told, Saladin occupied the defiles with his best troops, yet the discipline and order now maintained in the Christian ranks were so strict, that the enemy did not venture to make any attack till the hosts of the Cross reached the neighbourhood of Cayphas, and encamped between that city and the sea.

At Cayphas the army remained to refresh itself for two or three days, though the spot afforded no great accommodation, and a great many inconveniences were experienced in its neighbourhood. The plan of defence which had been formed by Saladin, when first alarmed by the march of Frederic Barbarossa, now proved serviceable against Richard and the forces under his command, although, more provident than the great German prince, the English sovereign had provided in

some degree for the supply of his army, by the line of march he had chosen, and the constant vicinity of his fleet. On the approach of Frederic Barbarossa, the sultan had given orders for dismantling all the fortresses of the second class, which could not offer a long resistance to the Christians, but might afford them, when taken, storehouses and places of refuge.* Such, it would seem, had been the case with Cayphas; but the neighbourhood of the ships supplied the wants of the crusaders, and after a short pause, the march recommenced through a more difficult country than even that which had been already passed. Greater caution than ever was displayed: the Templars led the van; the Knights of St. John brought up the rear; and, through a woody and uncultivated district, overrun with thorns, which offended the feet of horses and men, and with game, which lay amongst the flowering shrubs almost till trodden under foot by the passing host, the army directed its course towards Cæsarea, halting two days at a place called the Cottage of the Narrow Ways,† where the soldiers suffered dreadfully from the bites of tarantulas. These animals, which the chronicler calls *vermes*, entered the tents at night; and the wounds they inflicted became immediately swollen and highly inflamed, producing great pain, so that little repose was obtained, although rest was greatly needed by the weary army, which had undergone incredible fatigues during a long march in the heat of a Syrian summer. Provisions in abundance, however, were brought by the ships, and the religious enthusiasm of the soldiery was kept up by the solemn cry, which resounded through the camp every night, of *Save the Holy Sepulchre!* It was always first pronounced by some one with a loud voice towards the centre of the camp, just before the crusaders lay down to rest; and, taken up by every tongue, it echoed from tent to tent,

* Emadeddin. This author mentions, amongst the places dismantled, Cæsarea, Jaffa, and Arsouf, or Assur; but in regard to the latter place, at least, he must have been mistaken, for when Richard reached it, as will soon be shown, he found the city fully garrisoned by the Mussulman forces.

† There must either be a clerical or typographical error in the work of Vinesauf, or else the worthy pilgrim must have made a mistake, for he places Capernaum in the line of Richard's march, and yet shows that the army followed the sea-shore. Now every one knows that Capernaum is far inland, near the Lake of Gennesareth, and quite out of the way in going from Acre to Jerusalem. Perhaps the word Capernaum may have been transcribed by mistake for Calumon.

while with hands stretched up to heaven, and tears of penitence, the soldiers of the Cross besought mercy and assistance in their great and perilous undertaking.

When the march recommenced, Richard again placed himself at the head of the army, while the Templars brought up the rear; the Saracens appearing in great force upon the neighbouring hills. On several occasions, we find, the king spurred forward in person to attack the enemy; but the Moslem fled wherever he appeared, and the Christians suffered far more from the difficulties of the way, and the tremendous heat of the sun, than from the spears or the arrows of the Saracens. Several, we are told, died of exhaustion, and many others were sent by Richard on board his galleys to obtain a little repose ere they resumed their march. The heavy armour of the Christians greatly impeded their progress, fatigued their limbs, and embarrassed their movements; and many of the soldiery, casting away their shirts of mail, preferred exposing themselves to the weapons of the enemy, rather than endure the oppressive weight and intolerable heat of the hauberk under a burning sky. During the whole course of the march from Acre to Cæsarea, the attacks of the Saracens were incessant; but it would seem that no great impression was made, and that the defensive armour of the crusaders was proof against the arrows of the Mussulmans, which stuck between the links of mail without injuring the person of the soldier. One of the Arabian historians* declares that he had seen as many as one-and-twenty arrows standing out of the hauberk of one crusader; and another† compares the Christian soldiers, when thus accoutred, to porcupines. If we are to believe the Moslem accounts, supported by the history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, the cross-bows of the Christian infantry did much more damage amongst the ranks of Saladin. We are told, that chariots had been constructed furnished with mantlets to protect the cross-bow men, and that, raised upon the left of the crusading army, these carriages formed a sort of wall, from behind which poured upon the Mussulman cavalry showers of quarrels or bolts, which were sent with such force and skill as often to kill at once both horse and rider. Nevertheless, many stragglers from the host of Richard were

* Bohaeddin.

† Emadeddin.

captured, and after being brought into the presence of Saladin, were decapitated by his order, in retaliation for the massacre of the unredeemed hostages of Acre. The Christians, on the other hand—perhaps more humanely—gave no quarter; and this ferocious and exterminating spirit continued unmitigated, it would seem, till after the battle of Assur.

Cæsarea was at length reached, at the conclusion of a long day's march, which had nearly exhausted the strength of the whole host. The town was partially dismantled, and the Mahommedan inhabitants fled at once on perceiving the approach of the crusaders.* Without entering the city, the Christians pitched their tents on the shores of the River of Crocodiles, extending their encampment a long way over the plains of Megiddo, and the same night two soldiers, bathing after the excessive heats, were eaten up by the voracious reptiles, which gave a name to the stream and to the neighbouring lake. The European fleet, however, having been called into the port of Cæsarea, supplied the wearied soldiers with abundant provisions; and the exhortations of Richard were not lost upon a number of the followers of the Cross who had lingered in Acre, but who now joined the standard of the English king in the vessels which were daily passing between the two cities. More than a hundred thousand veteran soldiers, hardened by fatigues and undaunted by dangers, were arrayed under the banner of the Cross; but vast reinforcements had also poured in to the aid of Saladin, and the attacks of the Moslem became more daring and incessant. One wish for a general battle pervaded the bosoms of the Christians; but the Parthian system of warfare adopted by Saladin was still maintained. The whirling masses of his light cavalry swept round and round the heavy-armed soldiers of the Cross, harassing them by continual skirmishes and flights of arrows; but dispersing as soon as attacked, and galloping away towards their companions on the hills. A more serious affair took place, indeed, as Richard marched forward from Cæsarea. A body of cavalry, too large for such rapid flight, hung upon the flank of the advancing host, just as it was about to cross a stream called by the Arabs Cassab. The great mass of the crusaders

* Vinesauf. Emadeddin.

marched on as usual, in firm and unshaken ranks ; but several squadrons were detached by Richard, either to disperse the enemy's troops, or to bring them to an engagement ; and it is probable that he entertained some hopes of forcing on a general battle. The Mussulmans, commanded by an emir of the highest renown, stood their ground for some time against the charge of Richard's men-at-arms. Their leader, who was a giant in stature, and who wielded a lance of twice the size of any in the Christian army, performed feats of valour which called forth the admiration of his adversaries, and seems to have provoked them to the combat, by boasting that none of them could unhorse him, or would dare to meet him in the charge. His troops, however, could not resist the impetuous vigour of the Europeans, and he himself was killed in the meleé, to the great grief of Saladin and the whole Moslem force.*

The impenetrable thickets which here stretched down to the sea-coast, now forced the Christian army to take its way over the mountains, and the continual attacks of the Saracens became more and more audacious and detrimental. The Templars, who brought up the rear, lost so many horses that they almost gave themselves up to despair ; the Count of St. Paul, with the troops under his command, was in the same condition ; and so tremendous were the flight of arrows, that we are assured, along the whole line of march, not four feet of ground could be seen on which a shaft or a javelin had not fallen. The effect of such a dense shower of missiles amongst a body of men moving on in the most compact order may be easily conceived ; and Richard himself, who at various times was in every part of the army, encouraging and supporting the soldiers, was wounded by a javelin in the side. Many of the horses died afterwards by the side of a brackish stream, near which the crusaders pitched their tents for the night ; and as they had been obliged to withdraw to some distance from their fleet, horseflesh became so valuable that dangerous quarrels took place for the dead chargers, which were only quieted by the king promising to bestow a live horse on every

* His name was Aiaz the Long, and, strange to say, the Christian historians have given it accurately, which is exceedingly rare in their accounts of the Crusades. Bohaeddin says, that this leader met with his death in consequence of his horse becoming restive, and rearing with him.

one who would give up the carcass of his beast for the support of his companions.

The advance upon Assur was conducted in the same manner as the previous march ; and it was strictly enjoined to the inferior leaders, by no means to risk bringing on an engagement by any movement against the enemy unauthorised by Richard himself. It was evidently the intention of the King of England to draw Saladin into a general battle as soon as possible ; but he had discovered or divined the plan of the sultan, to wear him out by frequent and severe skirmishes, in which the light troops of the Moslem were sure to have the advantage, and to avoid one of those decisive engagements, in which the superior weight and vigour of the Christian chivalry generally obtained a certain success. Richard only dreaded, therefore, the impetuosity of the leaders of the various heterogeneous parts of his vast army, who, by repelling too fiercely the detached attacks which were made from time to time upon the rear, the flank, and the front of the crusading forces, might frustrate the scheme of their commander for drawing the enemy's troops into a position from which they could not escape without a decisive battle. The fiery courage of the Templars and the Hospitallers, the want of due subordination in both bodies, and their jealousy of each other, were most to be feared ; but Richard formed his plans so well, that though the engagement was brought on somewhat sooner than he proposed, and the results consequently diminished in value, he yet obtained an opportunity of striking a terrific blow at the Moslem, which, in all probability, would have ensured complete success in the campaign, had circumstances enabled him to pursue his schemes to their termination. The first day's march from the banks of the salt river was through the forest of Assur, and great fears were entertained in the Christian army lest an ambush should be laid therein, or lest the enemy should set fire to the wood. Such means, however, were not resorted to by Saladin, and the host issued forth in safety upon the plains beyond. That night and the following day were spent by the banks of a pleasant stream, and on Saturday, the 7th of September, the march was recommenced at an early hour of the morning, with many indications of an approaching conflict. The Mahommedan forces covered the hills around in bodies more numerous than had

ever before been seen, and it is computed that upwards of three hundred thousand men had by this time been collected by the sultan from all the countries, far and wide, which owned the law of Mahommed. The Christians, horse and foot, numbered a hundred thousand fighting men; but they were the flower of the chivalry of Europe, and commanded by the greatest general of the age. No rash impetuosity was now displayed by the fiery Richard. In all the preparations for the march, which he hoped and expected to terminate by a battle, the knight was laid aside for the commander, and the troops were marshalled in such firm and serried order, that we are assured an apple could not be thrown into any part of the array without falling upon a man or a horse. The Templars this day led the van; the Hospitallers brought up the rear; in the centre were Guy of Lusignan, the Duke of Burgundy, James of Avesnes, William des Barres, and other celebrated commanders, while Henry Count of Champagne appears to have been at the head of a detached body on the left, towards the mountains, with the principal force of archers and cross-bow men. Richard himself commanded in every part of the field. The troops of Brittany and Anjou followed close upon the steps of the Templars, the King of Jerusalem commanded his countrymen of Poitou, and the fourth body consisted of Normans and English. We have no account, upon which we can rely, of the arrangement of the other troops; for, with the exception of the Templars and Hospitallers, Vinesauf only mentions, in describing the array of the army, the natives of those countries or provinces which were under the English sceptre. We know, however, that there was an immense multitude of French, Danes, Germans, and Italians; and to these troops distinct places have been assigned by the imagination of modern writers, supported by very faint indications in the works of contemporaries who were not present.

Proceeding at the very slowest pace, for fear of deranging their compact order,* the soldiers of the Cross advanced towards Assur, which town, as is the case with many Mahommedan cities, was surrounded by very extensive

* Ita se agebat exercitus sensim progrediens, et paulatim ne forte disgregatur, quia minus coherentes acies ordinatæ, minus ad resistendum valerent.

gardens.* The road was narrow and somewhat difficult, and, we are assured by Saladin's friend and companion in the fight, that the sultan had determined to give battle that day, and to drive the Christians into the sea. It is clear, however, that Richard doubted his great adversary's intention of hazarding a general engagement, and he gave the strictest orders that no man should venture to charge the enemy till a preconcerted signal had been given by a blast of two trumpets in the front, two in the centre, and two in the rear; and he refrained from attack throughout the whole morning, with wonderful patience, waiting for the moment when the forces of Saladin should be so completely exposed in the plain that no possibility could exist of their escaping without a battle. The king himself and the Duke of Burgundy rode rapidly along, from time to time, with a body of chosen knights, from van to rear, observing both the movements of the enemy and the array and demeanour of their own troops. Thus the whole host moved on, while the multitudes of Saladin gathered closer and closer round, threatening now the flank and now the rear, and now seeming disposed to oppose the progress of the van. The brazen drums of the Mahommedans and their loud shrieking cries deafened the ear; and their fluttering ensigns, gay dresses, and whirling clouds of horsemen dazzled the eye. The heat was intolerable, and the dust almost suffocating, while through the dim atmosphere appeared and disappeared both the highly-trained and disciplined bands of the sultan's veterans and the wild tribes of Asia and Africa which had been called to his assistance. Now came the swarthy Moors, sent unwillingly at the last hour by the heretic emperor; now the yellow Bedouin, with his bow and quiver and small round shield; and now the frightful negro, with his jetty visage and his white and shining teeth—till it seemed to the wondering eyes of the crusaders as if the whole southern and eastern world had gathered together for their destruction. Towards the third hour of the day the attack was begun by about ten thousand Turks, who came rushing on with a rapidity compared to the stoop of an eagle or the rapid course of the lightning. Bands of wild musicians accompanied them, to animate them to the fight; and their

* Bohaeddin.

cries are represented as horrific. Not yet, however, did they venture to close with their adversaries, still shooting their arrows and hurling their javelins from a distance. The cross-bow men and the archers of the rear returned the shower of missiles with fierce determination; but it is evidently shown that great apprehensions were entertained by many in the host of the crusade, for several of the bowmen cast down their weapons, and rushed into the masses near, fearful of being excluded from the general array of the army if they paused to repel the enemy completely. Still, however, the great body of the Christian forces continued to move on in firm and regular array, though many even of the knights, deprived of their horses, were forced to march on foot, plying the bow or the cross-bow, like the common men. The principal fury of the attack was directed against the rear of the army, where the Knights of the Hospital were stationed, and I do not find that the Templars were at all engaged during the early part of the day.* The Grand Master of St. John, after bearing with the utmost patience the continued assaults of the Asiatic cavalry—and the shower of missiles that fell thick as hail, both amongst the ranks of the order and the bands of foot attached to his division, sent messengers to Richard, beseeching him to suffer a charge to be made. The king, however, still commanded to refrain; and the army continued to advance by slow steps, till the advanced guard reached the gardens of the town.* At this time the pressure of the Mahommedan troops upon the rear was tremendous, and a body of more than twenty thousand Turks, encouraged by the passive aspect of the crusading force, dashed in upon the Hospitallers, wounding several with their scimitars and maces. Irritated, and unable to comprehend the more masterly plans of Richard, one of the

* It has been stated by Mr. Addison, in his history of the Order, that the Templars first forded the river and drove in the advanced guard of Saladin's army. In the absence of any formal despatch from the generals commanding armies, who must see and comprehend more of a battle than any one else, though even they can only know a part, the best testimony we can have is of course that of persons who were present. Now, neither the account of Vinesauf nor that of Bohaeddin, both eye-witnesses, lead me to believe that the Templars were engaged with the Mahommedan forces early in the day. The pressure is shown clearly to have been always on the rear.

† Bohaeddin.

knights, named Garnerius de Napes,* exclaimed with a loud voice: "Aid us, Sir George, noble knight! Now perishes Christianity—not allowed to fight against this accursed race!"

Moved, it would appear, by this cry, the Grand Master rode furiously in search of Richard, and once more besought him to give the signal for battle. The monarch, however, still refused, and the Grand Master rode back again, bearing express directions to remain passive till the signal was given. The repeated attacks of the enemy, however, overcame the subordination of the Knights of the Hospital, and two of the order—the marshal himself being one, and Baldwin de Carreo, one of Richard's own subjects, another—couched their lances, and dashed into the midst of the Turkish cavalry. The whole body of the Hospitallers instantly followed; and delay being now no longer possible, the ranks of the infantry opened; the cavalry passed through; the Count of Champagne, James of Avesnes, the Count of Dreux, and his brother, the Bishop of Beauvais, as well as the Earl of Leicester, all charged at once, with their several divisions, and the battle became general, Richard himself leading the whole host, and hewing his way through the midst of the enemy. His feats of personal prowess on this occasion seem not only to have exceeded those of all others, but all that he had ever previously performed himself. As far as the sweep of his heavy sword reached, the children of Islam fell before it, or, retiring on either hand, left a broad road for his advance; and we are assured that, for the distance of half a mile, the ground was strewn thickly by the corpses of Saracens slain by his hand.

The resistance of the Mussulmans must, nevertheless, have been desperate. Blocked up in a narrow space, with high hills on one side and a forest on the other, the very measures which Saladin had taken to prevent the escape of the crusading army proved detrimental to his own. The manœuvres

* Vertot, in his history of the Knights of St. John, gives the name of the grand master at this time, as Ermengard de Dapes. It is to be presumed that he wrote from authentic documents, but yet the name is so similar to that which is applied to a simple knight by Vinesauf, who was in constant companionship with the Order, that a suspicion may exist as to the abbé's accuracy. We know that he was not at all times as scrupulous as he might have been.

of his light cavalry, by which he had so frequently harassed and destroyed the Christian forces, were no longer possible; and the heavy horses, long lances, and superior strength and discipline of the European knights, gave them every advantage in close combat. Very shortly after the commencement of the battle, the right, the left, and the centre of the Mahommedan force were all in flight; but Saladin himself, Taki-eddin, and Malec-adel, made prodigious efforts to rally their troops, and twice brought them back to the charge.* Some of the Christian forces were shaken by the shock, and gave way for a short space; but the prowess and skill of Richard, and the fierce resolution of the Templars and the Hospitallers, as well as the cool and determined advance of the German cavalry, overcame all resistance; and to the hills and the forest the enemy were followed till victory might have been hazarded by farther pursuit. In the second charge of the Saracen cavalry, the celebrated James of Avesnes lost his life. Surrounded by a multitude, and left nearly alone, without the aid and assistance which, we are assured, might have been given him by the Count of Dreux and others, he continued to fight till he had slain fifteen of the enemy with his own hand,† but then fell under repeated blows, terribly disfigured by the wounds he had received.

It would appear that the body of Mahommedans who made the second charge had, in the first instance, fled towards the forest, but resuming courage,‡ on seeing that the great mass

* Bohaeddin, who was with Saladin at the time, gives an account somewhat different from that of the Christian authors, but not irreconcilable with it. He speaks of Saladin's efforts to rally the fugitives, and then says, "As often as the Franks charged, our troops took flight, and sheltered themselves in the forest: when they stopped, our men stopped; if they charged again, the others recommenced running, but still fighting all the time. These charges and flights were renewed three times." If the Mussulmans, as he says, fled each time they were charged, into the forest, it is clear that they must have been brought back to the combat, for in another place he declares that the crusaders did not dare to follow them into the woods for fear of an ambuscade.

† A tale is current that James of Avesnes was killed within a short distance of the spot where Richard was fighting: and that the king, hearing him call for assistance, turned his horse towards him and cleft his way to the spot, but arrived too late to save his friend. I find no such statement in any competent authority contemporary with the event; and Richard, in his own letters, two of which are preserved, takes no notice of such an incident. The whole story is probably merely an invention of those who have thought fit to embellish the pages of history with the ornaments of the imagination.

‡ "Vires resumentes," says Vinesauf, which would not at all show that this

of the Christian army was pursuing the fugitives towards the hills, returned to attack the stragglers in the rear of the crusading force, and made their way to the spot where the English standard stood, surrounded by a body of chosen warriors. The number of the Saracens who rallied on this occasion is stated at twenty thousand; the standard was protected only by a few hundreds; and the latter, though fighting bravely, were nearly overpowered, when William des Barres, and the troops under his command, hastened to their assistance, and the assailants were forced to fly in confusion.

The king, in the mean time, pursued the scattered parties of the enemy which had taken their way towards the hills, attacking and dispersing each body in which an attempt was made to rally, till at length he ordered his trumpets to sound the recall, and, having returned to his standard, marched in firm order to the town of Assur, where he pitched his tents without the walls. While busied in forming their encampment, the rear of the Christian army was once more attacked by a large body of the enemy, and, unprepared for this fresh assault, the troops were thrown into some confusion. Richard himself, however, hearing the tumult, hastened to the spot with only fifteen companions, and cast himself headlong into the midst of the enemy, crying, "Help us, God, and the Holy Sepulchre!" A number of others followed, and the Turkish force was speedily dispersed and pursued to Assur with great slaughter. No other attempt was made to renew the combat, and thus ended the most important battle in which Richard was ever engaged. The loss on the part of the Mussulmans was very great, and the Arabian historians acknowledge that, had it not been for the shelter afforded by the neighbouring forest, the Mahommedan army would have been destroyed.* Vinesauf laments the intemperate zeal of the Hospitallers, which led them to disobey the orders of Richard, to which alone he attributes the escape of even a part of the Saracen army. As it was, the rout was at one time so complete, that Bohaeddin declares, on returning from the left of Saladin's host to the centre, he found

was "a squadron of Turkish cavalry who had not been engaged in the previous contest," as is stated in the little history of Richard which I have mentioned several times.

* Ibn-alatir.

only seventeen men in the tent of the great monarch. "Every one else," he says, "had taken flight." An immense quantity of baggage, arms, rich vestments, banners, and standards, fell into the hands of the Christians, and Vinesauf assures us that thirty-three emirs were left dead upon the field. On the place where the battle had raged, the bodies of seven thousand Mussulmans were found, not counting the wounded, who, dragging themselves to a distance, died after the fight in the gardens and the woods. The loss on the part of the Christians was comparatively insignificant, though the death of James of Avesnes plunged the whole army into grief. His body was eagerly sought for on the following day, and found so covered with wounds as hardly to be recognised by those who knew him best. The corpse was washed and brought into Assur, where it was visited by almost every knight in the army, and tears and lamentations proved the universal love and esteem which the dead nobleman had obtained.* His funeral was conducted with every solemnity, and perpetual masses were instituted by Richard for the soul of his deceased friend.

The booty taken was immense, and the number of captives apparently greater than usual; but the Christian army, though it had suffered little from the sword of the Saracens in the battle, had been worn down and exhausted, not only by the fierce contention of the day, but by long marches and intolerable heat, as well as by the scarcity of provisions

* James of Avesnes was the epitome of all chivalrous virtues. Richard himself, in one of his letters, speaks of him thus:—"Charum Jacobum de Avennis, qui in exercitu Christiano per plures annos ad serviendum Deo viventi, quasi columna exercitus in omni sanctitate et sinceritate fidei promptus extitit et devotus." And Vinesauf tells us, "Super morte tanti viri lamentabuntur universi, rememorantes ejus probitatem et largitatem, et eundem ornatum pluremarum dote virtutum." I have omitted all notice of the romantic incidents connected with the death of James of Avesnes by Bromton, because that author is not only not confirmed, but positively contradicted by contemporaries and eye-witnesses in almost every important particular. He represents the battle as having been begun by James of Avesnes, when we know it was hurried by the indiscretion of two of the Hospitallers. He states that James of Avesnes was killed by his leg and foot being cut off, while Vinesauf tells us a very different story—namely, that his horse falling, he was surrounded and despatched by the Saracens. The same author, it must be remarked, neither comprehended Richard's plan of battle, nor knew any one of the circumstances attending the victory at Assur. He represents Richard and Saladin as having met in the fight, and the sultan as having been unhorsed by his great rival. These figments do very well to embellish fictitious narrative, but are unworthy of a place in history.

which had prevailed during the latter part of the march from Acre. A day's repose, however, was all that Richard granted to his army, and he then resumed his advance upon Joppa, where, in all probability, he expected to receive more abundant supplies.

Saladin, by all accounts, overwhelmed with grief at the disastrous issue of the greatest battle he had ever fought, saw clearly that it would be impossible to prevent the progress of Richard, or to save the principal cities on the sea-coast. It was his own opinion that Ascalon might be defended, and in the first instance, after retreating from the fatal field of Assur to Ramla, he proposed to throw a strong garrison into Ascalon, and furnish it with sufficient supplies to stand a long siege. His emirs, however, proved mutinous, and, even more dispirited than the sultan, first remonstrated, and then refused to obey.*

Under these circumstances, there remained no choice but to dismantle the city, or suffer that strong and important place to fall into the hands of the Christians in such a state as would give them the command of the whole sea-coast of Palestine. The sultan accordingly determined, with great regret, to throw down the walls of the fortress, which had been the first fruits of the victory of Tiberiad; and he accordingly set off from Ramla, on the 18th of the month of Schaban, with his whole mind agitated with the thoughts of the act he was about to perform. He declared, with bitterness of heart, that although he loved his children much, he would rather lose them all, than cast down one stone of the walls of Ascalon;† but, nevertheless, he pursued the painful task with strong determination, and assigning to a number of his emirs the destruction of separate parts of the fortifications, he notified to the inhabitants that they would be for the future defenceless, and with deep grief saw them sell hastily all that they could not carry away, and retire in separate parties towards Egypt or the interior of Palestine. When the work of destruction was accomplished, the great monarch retreated upon Jerusalem, causing the walls of Ramla to be likewise cast down, as well as the church of Lidda, and a number of fortresses and castles, which he

* Ibn-alatir.

† Bohaeddin. This author took part in the dismantling of the city.

feared might be converted by the Christians into magazines on their march towards Jerusalem.

The advance of Richard upon Joppa met with very little obstruction. A body of fifteen thousand chosen men had been left by the sultan to watch the movements of the crusading force upon the banks of the river of Assur, but they offered no effectual resistance to the progress of the English monarch; and after a two days' march his army reached Joppa, the walls of which, with part of the city itself, had been previously destroyed by Saïfeddin. Only one quarter of the town was habitable, so that the greater part of the army was obliged to encamp in the beautiful olive grounds of the neighbourhood; but the clear warmth of the atmosphere, tempered by the delicious sea-breezes, rendered a residence under canvas no great hardship. Every luxury of warm countries was there also found in abundance, and the parched lips of the weary wanderers through the close woods and over the burning hills of Palestine, were refreshed by delicious fruits—the grape, the fig, the pomegranate, and the almond; while the trees that bore them afforded a pleasant shade from the fiery suns of a Syrian summer. The fleet, too, which had been despatched to Acre for fresh supplies of provisions, there rejoined the army, laden with abundant stores, and a period of repose and ease ensued which was more detrimental, perhaps, to the energies of the crusading force than the oppressive heat of the march, or the darts and arrows of the enemy.

Hardly had the army tasted the rest from labour which was so necessary to it, when tidings were brought from Ascalon that Saladin and his troops were busy destroying the fortifications of that city. The town was, in itself, so defensible, the power of the sultan was considered so great, and the vast importance to him of preserving a means of communication with Egypt by sea so evident, that the intelligence was not credited; and Richard at once sent off a galley with Geoffrey of Lusignan and William de Stagno to ascertain the facts. Their report left no doubt of the desperate resolution of the sultan; and it appears that Richard immediately summoned his council, and proposed to march at once for Ascalon, to cut short the further operations of the Saracens, and to restore the fortifications which

had been already destroyed. There can be no doubt in the mind of any one who considers the situation and extent of that city, that its preservation, as a fortress and a port, was absolutely necessary to the Christians of the Holy Land, if they sought to regain and hold in possession the ancient kingdom of Jerusalem. The proposal of Richard was the only one befitting the time and the circumstances; but the residence in Joppa was pleasant and luxurious; men had fought well, and laboured hard, and thirsted for repose and enjoyment. A wearisome march, another battle, and then long labours in the trench and on the wall, were unpalatable prospects to the French, and the whole body of that nation vehemently opposed the more judicious views of the King of England. Arguments are never wanting, when men's inclinations are strongly biassed. It was urged that Joppa was nearer to Jerusalem, and that it would be much better to restore and fortify anew the former city, than to undertake a long march and much greater labours, for the purpose of raising the walls of Ascalon from their ruins. The voice of Richard was overborne in the council, and, with regret, he abandoned a purpose which his military instinct showed him to be wise and necessary.* He might, and probably did, also comprehend very clearly that a long residence in a place already too famous for luxury and vice was not likely to restore the vigour, or increase the activity of his army, and he had soon cause to feel that the enfeebling effects of such a sojourn would generate disunion in council, and indecision in action. "The army remained there (says the historian) spending the days in idleness and sports, multiplying sins, gluttony, and luxury. Women, the incentive to offences, the promoters of evil, returned into the army from Acre, by whom the greater part of the people were depraved, the activity of the pilgrimage decreased, and due devotion brought into contempt."† A number of the men even embarked for Acre, and took up their abode in the manifold taverns of the city, spending their time in rioting and debauchery, and refusing to return, in despite of the exhortations of Guy of Lusignan,

* His vero pertinaciter Franci contradixerunt, allegantes ipsam Joppen potius restaurandam, et labore commodiore reparandam, quippe ad breviorum perigrinationem in Jerusalem commodius potuisset opus consummari.

† Vinesauf.

who was sent to bring them back to Joppa. To remedy this evil, Richard himself, at length, set sail for Acre, and, by persuasions and threats, and the use of all those means which he judged available, brought back the greater part of those who had deserted his camp to Joppa. Many weeks were thus lost; but having, at length, gathered together a sufficient force, the king prepared to take the way towards Jerusalem as soon as the fortifications of Joppa were completed.

In the mean time, however, the English monarch did not altogether apply himself to the toils of war, but indulged himself frequently in the sports of the field, which were a passion, if not a vice, under the feudal system. With little fear of the enemy, the king rode forth from time to time, to fly his falcons in the neighbourhood of Joppa; and on one occasion, his temerity had nearly cost his life or his liberty. He had ridden out with but a few attendants to some distance from the camp, and exhausted by the heat and exertion, had fallen asleep in a solitary place where he thought himself perfectly secure. The Mussulmans, however, had probably obtained intelligence of the monarch's imprudent habits; and he found himself suddenly attacked by a considerable body of the enemy. The courage of Richard proved dangerous to him on this occasion; for springing on his horse but half awake, and followed by his attendants, he attacked the enemy, sword in hand, and drove them before him. Their flight, however, was a mere stratagem. An ambush had been laid in the woods around, and the monarch was surrounded by an overpowering force of the enemy. He was saved only by the devotion of a Provençal knight, named William de Pratelles, who, understanding something of the language of the country, exclaimed aloud while combating valiantly, that he was the Malec Ric. The assailants were not acquainted with the person of the king; and directing their whole efforts to the capture of William de Pratelles, suffered the monarch and several of his companions to escape. A number, however, were killed or taken prisoners; and amongst the former were four gentlemen of high distinction closely attached to the person of the king.

Having been joined by a larger body of his friends, Richard made every effort to overtake the party of Saracens by which

he had been attacked, and to rescue the prisoners from their hands ; but they had proceeded too far, and night coming on, the pursuit was abandoned. There was much reason to apprehend that the captives would be put to death, for the massacre of prisoners on both parts had given a most sanguinary character to the war ; but by this time the evils of such an inhuman system were felt by Saladin and by the crusaders, and William de Pratelles was spared, notwithstanding the disappointment occasioned in the Mahommedan camp by the discovery that he had been mistaken for the king. Richard had afterwards the satisfaction of ransoming his faithful follower, and from this period a greater degree of courtesy and mildness was apparent in the conduct of the war.

On the present occasion, as on many others, the counsellors of the English monarch remonstrated strongly against the unnecessary exposure of his life ; but Richard paid little attention to their representations, and a very few days after, though with a nobler object, cast himself into peril not less than that from which he had just escaped. A small body of Knights Templars, with their serving brothers, had ridden forth in search of forage, while Richard was employed in repairing the walls of the castle of Maey, and were suddenly attacked in the plains by a greatly superior force of the enemy. It would seem, indeed, that they had been watched forth from the Christian camp, and that measures had been taken to surround them completely by four overwhelming masses of Turkish cavalry ; but upon this occasion the accustomed valour of the brotherhood, which by excess of temerity, often led them into fatal enterprises, proved the means of their salvation. No attempt was made to fly, but springing from their horses,* they set back to back, and presented an impenetrable front to their assailants on every side. They were nearly overpowered, however, when a temporary succour was afforded them by the arrival of Andrew de Chamgui,† with fifteen other knights, who boldly

* In the little history of Richard, which I have before noticed, it is stated that the Turkish cavalry came upon the Templars before they could mount their horses ; but Vinesauf distinctly says, "*expedite descenderunt ab equis suis*," in speaking of the Knights Templars when attacked by the enemy.

† This name is usually rendered Savigni.

cut their way through and ranged themselves by the side of their fellow crusaders. The number of the enemy, however, increased every moment, and so great was the din of the strife and the appearance of tumult in the plain, that the attention of Richard himself was called from a distance to the spot, and he commanded the Count of St. Paul and the gallant Earl of Leicester to ride down with all speed to the scene of combat, while he armed himself in haste to follow. The two leaders, on arriving on the banks of a stream, found their further progress opposed by a body of two thousand Mussulmans, while an equal number still surrounded the handful of Templars, determined to overcome their pertinacious resistance. Under these circumstances, it would seem, the Count of St. Paul proposed to the English earl that, dividing their forces into two, the one should attack the enemy, while the other remained as a reserve, to give aid when needful, and keep up the communication with the camp. The earl did not choose to take the inactive part upon himself, but with his own men charged the enemy, and liberated two of the knights who had been taken. Leicester, however, and his band were soon lost amongst the immensely superior numbers of the enemy, and when Richard arrived with but very few followers, his friends urged him vehemently not to risk his person and the hope of Christendom by entering personally into so unequal a combat. But the king would not listen for a moment, and plunged, sword in hand, into the midst of the Mussulmans, clearing a path by his single arm wherever he came, and slaying the emir, who appears to have been in command of the enemy's troops, with his own hand. Terror and confusion spread before the face of the lion-hearted monarch; and instead of reaping an easy victory over a handful of gallant but imprudent enemies, the Saracens fled in every direction, leaving a multitude of killed and wounded on the field, and several captives in the hands of the Christians. It is particularly remarked by the English historian, that no French troops were engaged in this combat.

A new incident was now about to chequer the history of this crusade, and negotiations for peace were mingled with the din of arms. Difficulties multiplied upon the path of the King of England. Both the Duke of Burgundy and the

Duke of Austria were jealous of the superiority of Richard, and the French and German troops seconded his efforts but coldly in the field, while their leaders opposed or thwarted him in the council. It is probable, however, that the immediate cause of Richard's proposing to treat with Saladin, was the faithless and treacherous conduct of Conrad of Montferrat, who, not contented with remaining inactive in Tyre without giving the slightest assistance to the champions of the Cross, commenced the most base and treasonable negotiations with the sultan, offering to turn his arms against his fellow-Christians, upon the condition of receiving from the hands of the Saracen prince the towns of Sidon and Berytes, in addition to the territory he already possessed. Saladin listened complacently to his proposals, and agreed to his terms, but upon the condition that Conrad should appear in arms against Richard before the towns were placed in his hands.*

The proposals of Richard were more dignified and consistent with his character; for he demanded boldly, as the condition of peace, that Jerusalem, with all the territory between the river Jordan and the sea, should be ceded to the Christians.† Saladin, according to the statement of Vinesauf, did not directly decline the proposal of the English king, but sent his brother to negotiate, and, as the Christian writers affirm, to amuse the English monarch with false expectations. It is probable that this statement is correct, for we know positively that Malek-adel did visit the camp of Richard, and was splendidly entertained by him in the plains between the fortresses called the Castle of the Temple and the Castle of Josaphat. As customary in the east, the Mahommedan prince brought presents with him, amongst which were seven valuable

* Ibn-alatir.

† The statements of the European and Asiatic writers in regard to the whole of this transaction are opposed to each other on many points. Vinesauf says, that Richard demanded that the whole kingdom of Syria, as he terms it, should be restored to the Christians as it was held by Baldwin the Leper; and also, that a tribute formerly paid by the Saracens to the King of Jerusalem should be renewed; and he goes on to state that Saladin agreed to restore the territory from the river Jordan to the sea, upon condition that Ascalon should never be re-fortified, either by the Christians or the Mahommedans. Bohaeddin, however, who took part in the negotiations, declares that Richard demanded the territory mentioned above, comprising the city of Jerusalem, and also the true cross, but that Saladin positively refused to give up one or the other.

camels and a magnificent tent. What course the negotiations took it is not possible to say; for it is probable that the diplomatic secrets of two courts were even more strictly guarded in those days than at the present time, when little certain information is to be obtained. It is clear that a considerable degree of intimacy arose between Richard and the Mussulman prince, and that small presents were daily exchanged, much to the scandal of the more devout crusaders, who looked upon such familiarity with an infidel as highly reprehensible. Richard treated their murmurs with contempt, and continued to receive Malek-adel with every mark of distinction.

In one of their conferences, the King of England, whose passion for music and poetry is well known, expressed a strong desire to hear some of the performers of the country, and Malek-adel immediately gratified him by causing a female slave to be brought before the monarch to sing and play upon the lute.* The most extraordinary incident of the whole negotiation was a proposal on the part of Richard, vouched for by almost all the Arabian writers, to bestow the hand of his sister Joan, Queen of Sicily, upon Malek-adel. The kingdom of Jerusalem was to be their united portion, and the Christian princes, as well as Saladin, were to guarantee the independence of this strange monarchy. It is hardly possible to doubt that such an arrangement was suggested, for Bohaeddin himself, who mentions the fact, as well as Ibn-alatir, took part in the negotiations. It is to be remarked, however, that although Malek-adel very naturally did not object to add the fair princess to the number of his wives, Saladin never looked upon the proposal as serious; and Aboulfaragus, in his Syrian chronicle, distinctly points out that Richard, who was by nature gay and fond of jest, made the suggestion as a joke, or if there was anything at all serious in it, the intention was to create dissension between Saladin and his brother, without the slightest intention of carrying out so wild and impracticable a scheme.

The intimacy, however, which arose between Richard and Malek-adel never ceased, notwithstanding the fierce renewal of the war; and I shall have to notice hereafter an act of chivalrous courtesy on the part of the Mahommedan prince, as well as the very extraordinary fact of Richard having be-

* Ibn-alatir.

stowed the honour of knighthood on the son of King Adel, shortly before his departure from the Holy Land.

The events which I have mentioned above took place towards the autumn of the year, and the Christian forces suffered considerably shortly afterwards, from a stormy and tempestuous season, especially during their march towards Ramla, which had been dismantled by the sultan. The whole country had been laid waste, and the rains having fallen heavily, it became necessary not only to divide the army, a part of which took up its quarters in Ramla, while the rest were posted in Bethanopolis and other small towns and castles, but to send out parties seeking for provisions almost to the gates of Jerusalem. The capture of two hundred oxen being marked as a very joyful event, shows the state of destitution to which the army was reduced; and Guy of Lusignan, with Stephen of Torneham, retreated to Acre, both in order to relieve the district of Ramla from a force which it was incapable of supporting, and to maintain the first city conquered by the crusaders against the machinations of Conrad and those who were now leagued with him.

In the mean time, constant and harassing hostilities were kept up by Saladin against the divided forces of the Christians; and on one occasion the Earl of Leicester, exposing himself rashly, with a small force, was surrounded and nearly made prisoner by the Saracens, but receiving assistance from the camp, in the end utterly defeated the enemy, and returned in triumph to his sovereign.

The lower class of the crusaders bore up gallantly and firmly against the dangers and inconveniences to which they were subject, cheering themselves with their proximity to Jerusalem, and expecting every day to be led to the gates of the Holy City; but the season was adverse, forage was with the greatest difficulty procured for the horses and food for the men; and every precaution had been taken by Saladin to prepare the Holy City for a resolute and protracted resistance. Richard, it would seem, was most anxious to commence his march for the accomplishment of the first great object of his expedition; and he advanced in person, towards the beginning of the new year, to Bethanopolis, which lies at the distance of only a few leagues from Jeru-

salem itself. On the journey, a part of the advanced guard of his army was entrapped in an ambuscade; but, though several of the crusaders were killed at the first onset, the rapid approach of the king, and the impetuous fury with which he attacked the enemy, soon turned their victory into defeat.

The progress of Richard, however, was not destined to be carried further towards the Holy City. The two military orders strongly opposed the advance of the king, as well as a great number of the barons of Palestine, representing to him the impossibility of supplying his army at a distance from the sea, the great diminution of his forces, and the certainty that the whole troops of Islam would unite for the defence of a city which they regarded with as much veneration as the Christian. Richard still hesitated, unwilling to abandon or postpone so great an object, especially at a moment when Saladin had suffered the larger portion of his army to retire to their homes; and before he would consent to retreat, Richard caused a plan of the city of Jerusalem and the neighbouring country to be drawn out and laid before him, which he examined with the greatest attention.* If we are to believe the account of the Arabian historians, Richard from that moment gave up the hope of conquering Jerusalem so long as Saladin lived, perceiving all the difficulties which its situation presented to an attacking force, with the eye of an experienced general, and judging that so skilful a commander as the sultan would not fail to make the most of every advantage which the ground afforded.

To the great dissatisfaction of all the inferior crusaders, the advance upon Jerusalem was consequently abandoned; and it was determined that the next effort of the army should be to repair the fortifications of Ascalon. One cause of Richard's retreat may undoubtedly have been the dissensions which existed in the camp of the crusaders, for it is very evident that the three great powers, England, France, and Austria, were no longer acting in concert. One historian,† indeed, lays the whole blame of the disappointment upon the Duke of Burgundy; and his words are very remarkable, as they do not proceed from one who was at all inimical to the French, but probably a native of France himself. After

* Ibn-alatir.

† Bernard the Treasurer.

describing the arrangements for the march upon Jerusalem, the author says, "When the divisions of the army were arranged, every one went to his quarters. Then the Duke of Burgundy thought deeply; and when he had thought, he sent for the barons of France, and said to them, 'My lords, you know that our Sire, the King of France, has returned, and that all the flower of his kingdom has remained here; and that the King of England has but a small number of people, compared with us. If we go to Jerusalem, and take the city, it will not be said that we took it, but they will say the King of England has taken it, which will be a great shame to France, and a great reproach; and people will say, too, that King Philip had fled, and that King Richard captured Jerusalem, which will be for ever a reproach to France.' Many agreed to do his will, though there were some who would not consent. The Duke of Burgundy caused his troops to take their arms, and return towards Acre."

Such is the statement of Bernard the Treasurer; and we find it clearly proved by Vinesauf that the duke really did quit the main army of the crusade immediately after it had reached Ramla, the first stage on the way to Ascalon. The retreat from Bethanapolis, it would appear, was rendered painful and disastrous, not by the attacks of the enemy, but by the inclemency of the weather and the unhealthy state of the army. Multitudes of sick and famishing people were seen bewailing their fate, when they thought of the long and dreary march to Ascalon; and lamentations were general throughout the whole camp. But Richard, with kindly generosity, undertook the care of all, sent out in every quarter to seek the sick and the weak, and provided them with means of transport as far as Ramla. In that city, the dispersion of the crusading force began. A multitude of the common soldiers deserted, indignant at not having been led to Jerusalem. The French went off in large bodies; some to spend their time in idleness at Jaffa, some to seek the pleasures of Acre, some to join the Marquis of Montferrat, who eagerly courted all deserters to swell the forces of Tyre. The Duke of Burgundy himself retired to some distance from Richard's quarters, and spent eight days in refreshing his troops preparatory to taking a northward course also. Count Henry of Champagne, however, remained faithful to

his royal uncle; and no way dismayed, either at the difficulties of the task before him, or the defection of his allies, the English monarch led his diminished army through dangerous paths, amidst snow, hail, and torrents of rain, to the gates of Ascalon, which city he reached on the 20th day of January, 1192. So complete had been the destruction of the walls and towers by the sultan, that it was with difficulty the troops passed through the ruined gates; and even when they had obtained shelter in the deserted town, the scarcity of provisions was rendered more severe than ever by the tempestuous state of the weather, which prevented a single vessel from entering the port during eight days.* At the end of that time, some supplies were obtained; but several of the king's ships perished at sea, with all on board.

The vast extent of the fortifications of Ascalon, and the difficulties of the work he had undertaken, speedily proved to Richard the impossibility of repairing the defences of the place, without the aid of his French allies, before that period of the year at which he might again expect to be attacked by the sultan. In these circumstances, he overcame his indignation at the conduct of the Duke of Burgundy and his troops, and sent messengers to them, exhorting them to return and labour with him in the common cause. Some difficulties were made; but at length the greater part of the French troops joined the English monarch at Ascalon, stipulating that they should be permitted to retire again after Easter, if they chose. The re-edification of the walls then proceeded rapidly: princes, nobles, knights, and soldiers, the clergy and the laity, all labouring together, and Richard setting the example with his own hands.

The reunion of the whole Christian forces of Palestine, for the attack of Jerusalem in the succeeding spring, seemed to be now Richard's great object; and we find that he even sent messengers to urge upon Conrad of Montferrat the propriety of co-operating with the other crusading princes. That ambitious nobleman, however, refused to present himself in Ascalon, without a previous conference with the King of England; and very soon after, all Richard's designs for the reunion of the Christian forces were frustrated by a new dispute with the Duke of Burgundy. The portion of the

* Vinesauf.

French forces which had been left behind by Philip Augustus had, it would seem, been greatly neglected by their sovereign, and were reduced to complete penury for want of pay.* Their urgent applications to the Duke of Burgundy, induced that prince to apply to Richard for a fresh loan; but it would seem that a very large sum was already due from the duke; and Richard, whose own treasures were well nigh exhausted, absolutely refused to advance any more. Under these circumstances, the duke retired indignantly from Ascalon, taking with him a considerable number of his soldiers.

The Duke of Austria also abandoned the main army of the crusade about the same time, but the cause of his defection is more obscure. We are told that when Richard sent to request him to take part in the labours at Ascalon, he replied haughtily that he was neither a carpenter nor a stone-mason, and that, on being summoned to the presence of the king, he made the same vain and impertinent reply. This answer, it is added, so incensed the impetuous monarch, that he kicked him in the presence of the whole court, and forbade him ever to display his banner again in the army under his command. The Austrian prince immediately withdrew from the crusade; and we are assured that he threatened to take vengeance whenever he should find an opportunity.†

While the Duke of Austria made his way slowly towards his own territories, the Duke of Burgundy directed his march towards Acre, the loose pleasures of which place had already too much captivated his licentious soldiery. But Acre and the surrounding territory was now a scene of fierce contention between the Pisans and the Genoese, who, rivals in their own country, had speedily become partisans in the Holy Land, attaching themselves to one or the other of the two great factions into which the Christians of the east were divided. The Pisans, from the first, had adhered to the cause of Guy of Lusignan, supported as he was by the King of England. The Genoese, on the contrary, had been speedily

* Vinesauf uses the words, "*Super sibi debitis stipendiis;*" which seems to imply that the French soldiers had been engaged at a regular rate of pay, which they had not yet received.

† I give the story as I find it, but I am much inclined to believe, that if not altogether an invention, the facts were greatly altered and embellished by the English historians, after Richard had been so shamefully imprisoned by the Austrian prince.

won by the King of France and Conrad of Montferrat. Both bodies had, unfortunately, been quartered at Acre for the winter, and constant tumults had taken place, ending frequently in bloodshed; but shortly before the arrival of the Duke of Burgundy, the heated and angry feelings on each side had proceeded to actual civil war. Recourse was had to arms; and the two factions were drawn out in battle array, when the Duke of Burgundy, with his forces, appeared in the plains near the city. The Genoese were greatly elated at his arrival, but the Pisans were far from losing heart; and taking it for granted, it would appear, that the duke had come to the assistance of their adversaries, they attacked him and his forces, lance in the rest, hurled him from his horse, and having secured their way back to the city, retreated into Acre, shutting the gates upon their opponents.* The duke and the Genoese, encamped without the walls, immediately sent off messengers to Tyre, requesting the aid of Conrad to besiege the city, and promising to give it up to him, notwithstanding the decision which had been previously come to by the council. The ambitious prince showed no coyness in yielding to their solicitations, but at once set sail with the galleys of Tyre; and the Pisans thus saw themselves besieged both by land and sea. They defended the town, however, undauntedly, receiving Conrad with showers of missiles from their mangonels; but at the same time they took care to send off messengers to Richard, beseeching him to hasten to their aid. It would appear that the King of England had already advanced as far as Cæsarea, for the purpose of conferring with Conrad, and of inducing him to join his forces to those of the other Christian princes in the war with Saladin; and at that city Richard was found by the messengers from Acre. He immediately hurried forward to the relief of the place; but neither Conrad of Montferrat nor the Duke of Burgundy thought fit to await his coming, but retreated to Tyre, leaving the Pisans and the Genoese to settle their differences as they might.

* I find no cause to believe that the Duke of Burgundy had given the Pisans any just cause for supposing that he came to aid the Genoese. Other authors have read the chronicles of the time differently; and it is very probable that the duke would have supported the partisans of Conrad of Montferrat, but that he had actually declared himself does not appear.

It is no unimportant part of the task of a biographer to show those strange discrepancies in the character and conduct of the individual whose history he relates, which are discoverable in almost all men, and were peculiarly to be remarked in Richard Cœur-de-Lion. Passionate, violent, and impetuous, he showed himself upon a thousand occasions ; but yet at other times, when any great object was in view, or any predominant desire might be frustrated by intemperance, we frequently find the English monarch displaying extraordinary moderation, patience, and gentleness. Such was the case in the present instance, if we can put any faith in the historians of the time. Instead of repressing the Genoese with a strong hand, or even reproving them with severity, we find that the calmest and most temperate politician could not have dealt more prudently or more successfully between two irritated and jealous factions. He reasoned, he exhorted, he persuaded, he argued. No force, no threats, no punishment was employed ; but merely by making both parties ashamed of private contentions, when the common cause of Christendom was at stake, and by exciting their enthusiasm once more for the great end which they had in view when they quitted their native land, he succeeded in quieting the animosity that existed between the Pisans and Genoese, and in restoring peace and unanimity between them. Laying aside, also, all consideration of the past conduct of Conrad of Montferrat, his ambition, his subtlety, and his treachery, Richard made one more important effort to recal him to a sense of duty. He called him to a conference before he retired to Ascalon, and, well aware of the great military abilities of the young Lord of Tyre, urged him warmly to forget all private interests, and unite his forces to those of the other crusaders. Conrad excused himself, upon frivolous pretences ; and Richard parted from him more exasperated than before. A threat of depriving him of all that he possessed in Palestine was then held out by the King of England ; but Conrad, strong in the support of the Duke of Burgundy, treated the menace with scorn, and immediately after, an imperative order was sent to the French who still remained in Ascalon, requiring them immediately to repair to Tyre.

Richard, having taken all necessary steps for the pre-

servation of Acre, returned to his army on the Tuesday before Easter; and immediately the leaders of the French in Ascalon presented themselves before him, demanding his permission to retire. The English king endeavoured as earnestly as possible to persuade them to remain, but finding them determined to obey the commands of the Duke of Burgundy, kept his word punctually, not only permitting them to leave the city, but giving them a considerable escort to ensure them from danger by the way.*

Great grief pervaded the crusading army at the departure of that body of French troops, which had remained most faithful to the vows they had taken when embracing the crusade, and much satisfaction was felt at the court of Saladin; for amongst the forces which thus retired were seven hundred of the most celebrated warriors of the Cross.

The situation of Saladin, indeed, had become most critical, and there can be little doubt in the mind of any one who studies the writings of the Arabian historians, that the treacherous defection of the Duke of Burgundy and the ambitious machinations of Conrad of Montferrat alone deprived Richard of a complete triumph over the adversaries of the Cross. Fatigued with long and excessive labour, the troops of the sultan, at the end of the year 1191, showed a coldness in the cause in which they were engaged, and an anxious desire for repose, which Saladin himself did not feel.

* It seems to me that the whole of this transaction has been misunderstood by the author of the little history of Richard Cœur de Lion, which I have more than once had occasion to mention. From the account of Vinesauf, it does not in the least appear that Richard treated these French warriors with contempt, nor could there be any cause for his so doing, as they comprised the flower of the French chivalry, and their departure was deplored by the whole army. They were only obeying the orders of the chief appointed to command them, and it is evident that Richard treated them with the greatest respect, and that the scornful speech attributed to him is purely fanciful. The account of the transaction given by Vinesauf is so highly to the honour of the English king, and so totally opposed to that of the writers who have thought fit, on all occasions, to represent Richard as violent, intemperate, and sarcastic, forgetting or not perceiving that with age and experience he learned to moderate his passions and often to restrain his impetuous disposition, that I cannot refrain from giving the words of one who was an eye-witness to most of the scenes which he records: "*Ipse quoque, nihil omittens ex contingentibus, cum eisdem processit prosequendis cum lachrymis obsecrans et blande deprecans ut cum ipso aliquantam moram facerent, ejus impensis sufficienter exhibendis ut quantum daretur desolatæ terræ succurrerent. Quos cum prorsus renuentes dimisisset abire, revrsus est Ascalonem,*" &c.

Yielding to these circumstances, that great monarch, while he retired to Jerusalem, suffered the greater part of his army to return to their homes, retaining but a few thousand men to keep the Christians in check during the winter. Abandoning the negotiations with the King of England, he directed his efforts once more to conclude a treaty with Conrad of Montferrat, and the Arabs are unanimous in declaring that the terms were actually arranged. Conrad agreed, they inform us, to attack the King of England in arms, in concert with Saladin, and to liberate all the Mussulman prisoners who were in his hands, upon the condition of retaining all the territory which he might be enabled to snatch from his fellow-Christians. Saladin, on his part, was to keep whatever cities or districts his own troops might conquer; and it would appear that he was eagerly urging the young Marquis of Montferrat to commence hostilities at the moment that the latter was conferring with the King of England, between Cæsarea and Acre. Conrad delayed, however, with a view of affording time for all the French forces to retire from Ascalon, in order to avoid giving offence to his ally the King of France, and on this point the Arabian writers explain the cause of his anxiety for the withdrawal of Philip's troops from Ascalon, upon which the Christian chroniclers are silent.*

The anxieties of Saladin, however, were not alone excited by the progress of the crusaders. His nephew, Takieddin, Emir of Hamah, died towards the end of the year, and his son, contrary to the custom of the Saracens, took possession of his father's territories as of right, without receiving investiture from the sultan. Saladin saw in this act both an insult and a perilous precedent. The quarrel between the son of Takieddin and his sovereign had nearly proceeded to arms; the court of the sultan was divided, and even Malek-adel himself showed an inclination to take part with his grand-nephew.

At the same time, the troops which had been left by Richard in Ascalon and Joppa made frequent eruptions into the Mussulman territory, carried away a great quantity of booty, and cut off several parties of Saracen troops; and Richard himself, taking advantage of the position of the city which he was restoring, to carry his excursions to the gates

* Compare, for these facts, Bohaeddin and Ibn-alatir.

of Daroum, rendered the communication between Egypt and Jerusalem insecure to all but large bodies of the Moslem. It is probable that the King of England was not ignorant of the differences which had arisen between Malek-adel and his brother, and that he strove as far as possible to increase them; for we find that, while Richard was at Acre, the son of the Mussulman king was sent to that city for the express purpose of receiving knighthood from the hands of the heroic King of England. That the forms of this Christian ceremony must have been greatly altered to suit the occasion there can be no doubt; but the historians have not entered into any details, merely informing us that it was performed by Richard with great magnificence, on Palm Sunday of the year 1192. It would appear that the King of England returned to Ascalon immediately afterwards; and we find that Richard was present when the last stone was placed in the new fortifications of that city, on Easter Monday of the same year.

On the following day, the king rode forth with a small retinue, to examine the fortifications of Daroum and Gaza, and approached so near the walls as to be in considerable peril; but on his return to Ascalon, painful news reached the monarch from his own dominions, and gave a new direction to all his views. The Prior of Hereford presented himself at Ascalon towards the end of Easter week, bearing letters from the chancellor, William of Longchamp, which showed the king, in forcible colours, the consequences of his long absence from England. His treasury emptied; the revenues of his kingdom seized upon by his brother; an oath of fidelity exacted by John from the nobles of the land; the clergy and many of the barons taking refuge in Normandy; and the crown itself almost within the grasp of an usurper; such were amongst the facts presented to the view of the monarch by the messenger from England.

It is probable that there was a considerable degree of exaggeration in the statements made by the chancellor; but Richard, who had full confidence in Longchamp, saw nothing but ruin and destruction before him if he remained longer in Syria, and was terribly moved by the contending passions aroused in his bosom. To leave his great enterprise incomplete, and to suffer Jerusalem to remain in the hands of the

Moslem, was very painful to contemplate; but, at the same time, the King of England had to consider that the loss of his insular and continental dominions would deprive him of the means of carrying the war against Saladin to a successful result. From England and Normandy his troops must be recruited and his treasury filled, and he already began to find the necessity of drawing men and money from those sources which he now learned were likely to be closed against him. On the other hand, if he left Palestine without taking some extraordinary measures to quiet the dissensions which existed amongst the crusaders, there was every probability of the whole country being rapidly brought under the dominion of Saladin, and the fruits of all the blood and treasure which had been spent in the crusade being entirely lost. Under these circumstances, Richard determined upon two steps, which must have cost him bitter mortification: to return to England, and to place the crown of Jerusalem on the head of Conrad of Montferrat. It is true that he allowed the whole people a voice in the election of their king, once more placing before them for their suffrages the names of Guy of Lusignan and the young Lord of Tyre; but we cannot for a moment suppose that Richard was ignorant of the choice which would be made by the crusaders. The military talents of Conrad were universally admitted; and, captivating to the multitude as those talents are in all times, they were of course still more popular in the days of chivalry. Neither could Richard conceal from himself, that of all the leaders who were likely to remain in the Holy Land, there was no one but Conrad who, with a claim to the crown of Jerusalem, had sufficient powers of mind to contend successfully with Saladin. Guy of Lusignan, although he had lately displayed more energy than he had evinced at an earlier period of his history, had neither sufficient popularity nor sufficient genius even to command the turbulent hosts of the crusade, much less to struggle with one of the wisest monarchs and greatest military commanders of the day. From the beginning he always leaned upon others, and was successful or unsuccessful, according to the abilities of his favourite for the time. Conrad depended solely on himself, and bent others to his purposes. All men felt that the one, though subtle, treacherous, and

deceitful, was formed for command, and not the other; and when Richard laid their names before the people, announcing his determination to return speedily to England, Conrad was elected as their leader and king without a dissentient voice. Richard, magnanimously casting away all remembrance of the enmity which had existed between Conrad and himself, instantly despatched his nephew, Henry, Count of Champagne, with two other noblemen, to bear to the young Lord of Tyre the news of his election, and to assure him of Richard's consent and support; and at the same time, he promised the people, who were greatly afflicted and dismayed at the prospect of his speedy departure, that he would leave behind him a chosen body of troops, armed and maintained at his expense, to aid in carrying on the war during his absence.

Embarking in one of the king's galleys, Henry of Champagne and his two companions speedily reached Tyre, and communicated to Conrad the distinction which had been conferred upon him, exhorting him to put forth all his energies in recovering, preserving, and governing the kingdom of Jerusalem. The joy of the young marquis was as great as might be expected from his ambitious character. By a modern English author we are told, that "he expressed to the ambassadors his determination to prove himself worthy of the dignity he had received, and his gratitude to Richard for his candid and honourable conduct." All such speeches are probably imaginary, and it is very likely that the address to Heaven, which Vinesauf puts in the mouth of Conrad, instead of the words just cited, are equally fictitious. Holding up his hands to heaven, the author says, the marquis thus prayed:—"Lord God, who hast created me and poured a soul into my body; thou who art a King both true and beneficent; grant me, Lord, that if thou judgest me worthy to govern this kingdom, I may be crowned; but if thou judgest otherwise, do not permit my elevation."*

The rejoicings in Tyre knew no bounds, and immediate pre-

* Vinesauf puts in Conrad's mouth the words, "*Regno tuo gubernando*," probably applying that term to the kingdom of Jerusalem. It is to be remarked, however, that Vinesauf recorded this prayer after Conrad's death, and as he was certainly not a partisan of that prince, we may suspect a sly desire to insinuate that God did not judge Conrad worthy to reign.

parations were made for the coronation of the new king, and for the resumption of active war against his late ally, the sultan. But the preparations were stopped, and joy turned into sorrow, by the bloody termination of Conrad's career under the knife of the murderer.

That branch of the Ismaelians, or Hachachins, which, as I have previously stated, had established itself in one of the most inaccessible parts of Mount Libanus, was ruled by an Iman named Senan, whose power over the minds of his followers seems to have been fully as great as that of any of his predecessors. Nevertheless, we find few instances of their bloody trade having been exercised during the latter half of the twelfth century. They seem, indeed, to have mingled in some degree in the commercial pursuits of other nations; but still the peculiar characteristics of the tribe remained unsubdued, and the death of Conrad is one of the most remarkable instances of the patience and perseverance with which these men pursued their designs. Six months before the period of his assassination, two young men, in the garb of monks, appeared in Tyre, and attached themselves to the households of Renault of Sidon, and Balian of Ibelin. They showed themselves strict in all the religious exercises of the Christians, constant in their attendance at church, and so humble and devout, as to gain the esteem of every one in the city. Nevertheless, these two young men were, during the whole of this time, watching for an opportunity of executing the commands of their lord against Conrad of Montferrat. That prince, almost immediately after his election to the throne of Jerusalem had been announced to him, was regaled at a grand dinner by the Bishop of Beauvais. He took his leave, after the feast was concluded, full of wine and mirth, and riding home, was passing through the open space before the custom-house of the city, when the two pretended monks threw themselves upon him, and wounded him in several places with their knives. Conrad instantly fell from his horse; and the assassins took to flight. One, however, was caught by the marquis's attendants ere he could escape, and was killed upon the spot. The other concealed himself in a neighbouring church. According to the most generally received account, the wounded nobleman was carried into the

same building to have his wounds dressed. As soon as the young Ismaelian beheld him still in life, utterly careless of his own safety, he cast himself upon the dying man, and despatched him with repeated blows. Some authors assert that this murderer was skinned alive; others, that he was put to death after long interrogatories, not unaided by the torture. All the English contemporary historians declare that the murderers, at their death, made no confession, except that they slew the young Marquis of Montferrat in obedience to the commands of their lord, the Old Man of the Mountain. The French, however, founded upon this lamentable event an accusation against Richard to the effect that he had bribed the scheick or emir of the Hachachins to compass the death of Conrad, and the rumour was very generally circulated both through Europe and Asia.

I have given a bare narrative of the events which occurred, as far as we know anything of them with certainty; but it may not seem unnecessary to pause for a moment here and inquire, whether this charge against Richard, which afforded a pretext for every sort of base and ungenerous act towards him, was founded even in probability. In the first place, we are bound to ask whether the act attributed to the English king was at all consonant with his character. In the next, we may demand whether the conduct of the Hachachins, as stated by the French, was at all compatible with their habits and vows. Thirdly, we are called upon to decide whether the existing circumstances show any reasonable and sufficient motive for so detestable an act as that which is attributed to the English king. Fourthly, we may inquire by what testimony the charge is generally supported.

That Richard was violent and irascible no one can doubt, but there is not a single instance on record of his having nourished a spirit of implacable vengeance. Even in the case of William des Barres, when personal rivalry had produced personal hatred, we find the generous heart of the monarch reasserting its sway as soon as the first effervescence of passion had passed away with time. Nor did Richard's worst enemies accuse him of subtlety and deceit; and yet the most cold-blooded and pertinacious revenge must be supposed to have actuated the monarch, if this charge was true, while at the same time, in the pursuit thereof, he must have displayed

infinite cunning and falsehood, if we are to suppose that he not only held a conference with Conrad, for the purpose of inducing him to act cordially with the rest of the crusaders, but even assented to his election as king of Jerusalem, and sent his own nephew to assure him of his consent and support, knowing all the time that he was to be assassinated at his instigation as soon as an opportunity presented itself.

Everything that we know of the habits of the Ismaelians leads us to believe that the most extreme tortures were incapable of wringing from them any confession, and that they were firmly impressed with the idea, that if they showed any such weakness, they would deprive themselves of those rewards and pleasures in another world for which they were content to suffer death and agony here below. Nor was it at all the habit of the Iman to give his murderous agents any reason whatever for the acts that he called upon them to perform. It was quite sufficient for them to know that he had pronounced any individual unfit to live, in order to induce them to accomplish that man's death. The fiat went forth; and it was executed without inquiry. Thus it is utterly improbable that a man of Richard's character should have prompted the deed, that the assassins should have known at whose suggestion it was undertaken, or that they should have confessed it even if they had been aware.

The probability is still further diminished by a consideration of the circumstances under which the act was performed. As the two assassins were, by all accounts, more than six months in Tyre, watching their opportunity to commit the murder, the deed must have been suggested about the period of the surrender of Acre at the very latest,* when Philip of France was still present in the camp, when each monarch watched the other with the keen eyes of jealous hatred, and when any communication between Richard and the Iman of the Hachachins must have been immediately known. At that time, also, Richard had not been two months in Palestine, a

* I have calculated that it must have taken a considerable time to conduct the negotiation for such an object, to select the fitting instruments, and to instruct them so perfectly in the course which they were to pursue, as we find had been done. They were disguised as monks, taught to demean themselves as such, directed to attach themselves to persons, one of whom at least was beyond suspicion, and so perfect in their lessons in all respects, that they completely deceived the most attached friends of the Lord of Tyre.

great part of which time had been consumed in illness, and the rest in active military operations. His name and his reputation would also have been compromised irretrievably by the mere rumour of negotiations with a tribe so universally detested as the Ismaelians; and it was not till some time after the fall of Acre that Conrad's enmity to Richard was fully manifest. At the time when the young Lord of Tyre was negotiating with Saladin, almost without disguise, and pledging himself to take arms against his fellow-crusaders, the two assassins were within the gates of his city, waiting only for an opportunity to put him to death; and at the time the deed was actually consummated, Richard had not only aided to raise him to the throne of Jerusalem, but had pledged himself to leave a considerable body of his troops to assist him in recovering the crown. There was thus no sufficient motive on the part of Richard for such an act, either at the period when the two Ismaelians entered Tyre, or at the period when the assassination was consummated.

If we look at the testimony by which the charge was supported, we shall find it utterly frivolous, and often contradictory. That the rumour which attributed Conrad's death to the instigation of Richard originated with the French is, I believe, universally admitted; but it must be remembered that the King of France was at this very time showing himself the undisguised enemy of his former friend, and that his troops in the Holy Land had at this very period snatched from the British monarch, by their defection, the hope, if not the possibility, of recovering Jerusalem to the Christians. It is true that the rumour spread to the Arabs, but it will be found that those very authors who reported* it, were ignorant of the fact that Richard had been instrumental in designating Conrad for the leader of the Christian forces after his own departure; and at the same time, one of the most learned and best informed of the Arabian writers, who had under his hands a great portion of the correspondence of Saladin, and was a personal friend of that prince,† boasts that the deed was perpetrated at the suggestion of the sultan. Ibn-alatir states distinctly that Saladin wrote to the Iman of the Ismaelians, offering him ten thousand pieces of gold if he would cause both Richard and Conrad to be put to death,

* Bohaeddin. Emadeddin.

† Ibn-alatir.

and that the Iman agreed to procure the death of Conrad, but refused to aid in the assassination of Richard, in order not to deliver Saladin from all his enemies at once, and to leave the hands of that great prince free to act against a sect who were a disgrace to the land they inhabited. This is the only thing like direct testimony that we have; all the rest is vague rumour; and when the situation of Ibn-alatir is remembered, his means of information, his personal friendship for the sultan, and his general impartiality, his testimony is at all events sufficient to free Richard from the imputation of having participated, directly or indirectly, in the crime.*

Were collateral proof wanting of the fact that the assassins did not, as the French asserted, name Richard as the instigator of the deed they had committed, it would be found in the conduct of Isabella, the widow of the murdered man. The French at this time were encamped without the walls of Tyre, to the number of nearly ten thousand men, and immediately after the funeral of Conrad, they called upon the princess to give up the city to their custody. Isabella, however, pointedly and distinctly refused, stating that the last dying commands of her husband were, to open the gates of Tyre to none but Richard, as the person who had most generously laboured for the deliverance of the Holy Land. Irritated by this refusal, it would seem, the leaders of the French entertained a design of seizing by force that which was refused to threats and persuasion. But in the midst of their deliberations, a new actor appeared upon the scene, whom they might be afraid to contend with, and unwilling to offend. Henry, Count of Champagne, after fulfilling his mission to the Lord of Tyre, had returned at once to Acre, whither the news followed him of the death of Conrad. His popularity was great with all parties; he was related both to the French and to the English king; his valour and conduct had been proved on many occasions; and after the death of James of Avesnes, he was considered by all men as the pride of the Christian chivalry. The intelligence which reached him at Acre induced him at once to return to Tyre; and the people of that warlike city hailed his arrival as that of one

* For various accounts of the death of Conrad, see Hoveden, page 716. *Scriptores Decem*, col. 1243. *Vinesauf*, lib. v. cap. xxvi. *Guil. Neubrig*, lib. iv. cap. xxiv.

sent by God for their deliverance from the perilous circumstances in which the death of their former sovereign had left them. They tumultuously proclaimed him their lord and leader, and urged him strongly, we are told, to assume the crown of Jerusalem, and unite his fate with the widowed daughter of Almeric. It is not probable that she who had so willingly consented to a divorce from her first husband and yielded herself to the arms of Conrad, should prove very inexorable to the solicitations of the gallant Count of Champagne; nor that the bloody death of a second husband, after the light divorce of a first, should weigh very heavily against the exigencies of the time, and perhaps the inclinations of the princess. We find no opposition mentioned on her part. Henry of Champagne, however, delayed his decision till he had consulted his uncle Richard, and messengers were immediately despatched to Ascalon, to communicate intelligence of the events which had taken place at Tyre, and to ascertain the opinion of the king. Richard, we are assured, was greatly moved by the death of Conrad; but, maintaining the views which he had previously announced in regard to the marriage of that prince to Isabella, he advised his nephew to assume the crown of Jerusalem, which was offered to him by a large and warlike body of the Christian population, but not to marry the widow of the Lord of Tyre, because her marriage with that prince in the lifetime of her first husband was unlawful and adulterous. At the same time, he urged the count to rejoin him with all speed, and if possible to induce the French who were before Tyre to accompany him.

It appeared to the nobles of Palestine assembled in Tyre that the title of Henry to the crown of Jerusalem would not be secure without his union with Isabella; and although the count hesitated greatly from the fear of offending his uncle, yet when the French added their persuasions, in the hope, perhaps, of producing dissensions between that prince and Richard, Henry of Champagne yielded to the universal voice, and married the widow of Conrad in somewhat indecent haste.

Necessity is often urged in palliation of unjust acts, and, doubtless, this plea was powerful with Richard, in appealing to the people of Palestine, as we have seen he did, to choose between Guy of Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat, when

a solemn decision had previously assigned the crown of Jerusalem to the former for life. No such excuse, however, can be urged for the gift which he now made of the city of Acre, and the country of Jaffa, which had been already bestowed upon other parties, to Henry of Champagne. A sense of this iniquitous liberality probably induced Richard at this time to confer the empire of Cyprus, which he had previously sold to the Templars for a sum of money, upon Guy of Lusignan.* It would appear, from the words of Vinesauf, that in the act of sale to the Templars, there was a clause of redemption, and a reservation of sovereignty, and that Guy bound himself to pay back the purchase-money of three hundred thousand gold pieces to the knights. The revenues of Cyprus, under a wise and temperate government, would soon afford the means; and the violent dissensions which had taken place between the inhabitants of the island and their new lords, probably rendered the latter very willing to enter into the arrangement proposed by Richard. It would seem that the rule of the great military order in Cyprus had been from the first the most oppressive and tyrannical, and in the end the most bloody, that the natives had ever known. Insurrection spread from one end of the land to the other, and the sword of the Temple was employed in slaughtering Christians, instead of upholding the cause of the Cross in Palestine. The politic, the wise, and the virtuous in the order must all have been well pleased to see such a state of things brought to an end; and the repayment of three hundred thousand pieces of gold might well be looked upon as an equivalent for disputed rule over an insecure possession.

The Count of Champagne, now become King of Jerusalem, did not neglect the injunction of his great relation and ally;

* The words of Vinesauf on this subject are somewhat obscure. It is clear that the money which the Templars had paid for Cyprus was repaid, but by whom does not clearly appear. This historian says, "*Veruntamen Rex Richardus . . . Insulæ Cypri, quamvis eam prius Templarii à rege emissent eidem contulit gratis Imperium. Sicque Rex Guido, Templariorum emptionis commutata conditione, Insulæ Cypri factus est Imperator.*" It is worthy of remark that Vinesauf, in this chapter, gives the highest possible character to Guy for probity, sincerity, and honour. Hoveden does not make any mention of the sale of Cyprus to the Templars, but says, after relating the death of Conrad and the election of Henry of Champagne to the kingdom which had been previously settled upon Guy for life, "*Et rex Angliæ dedit in excambium regi Gwidoni insulam de Cypre, in vita sua tenendam.*"

and it would seem that he found less difficulty than might have been expected in persuading the Duke of Burgundy and the French leaders to lay aside their enmity towards Richard, and once more co-operate with that monarch for the recovery of the Holy City. His nuptials had been but a few days celebrated, when he once more took the field, and directing his march by Acre, advanced to rejoin Richard at Ascalon.

The English prince had not in the mean time been inactive. The news which reached him continually from Europe, the ambitious intrigues of his brother John, and the threatening aspect of France, rendered him restless and uneasy; and hardly a day passed without some expedition in which the king displayed as much rashness as courage, and imprudence as skill. The most important and the most successful of the efforts made by Richard before he was rejoined by his nephew, was an attack upon the strong fortress of Daroum, the proximity of which to the frontiers of Egypt, whence Saladin derived the greatest part of his supplies, offered many opportunities of straitening the enemy. With a very small force, the monarch attacked the place shortly before Pentecost, and after what would appear to have been a vigorous resistance, took it by storm at the end of four days. This conquest was hardly complete, when the forces of Henry of Champagne and the Duke of Burgundy appeared in sight; and going forth to meet his nephew, Richard surrendered the fortress to him as the first fruit of the war under his reign.*

A new spirit seemed now to animate the crusading army; and leaders and men were eager to advance to the siege of Jerusalem. Richard alone seemed to hesitate undecided, for every day showed him that prudence required his immediate return to his own dominions, if renown called him onward to the Holy City. Rumours of his approaching departure spread through the camp; but the hearts of the soldiery were elate, provisions were plenty, the weather fine, dissensions were at an end, and all men, of whatever nation

* Bohaeddin says that the garrison of Daroum was put to the sword; but we learn from Vinesauf, that the number of Moslem slain in the siege was only sixty, and that the rest, to the number of three hundred, besides women and children, were made prisoners.

they might be, bound themselves by a vow to each other, to march against Jerusalem, whether the King of England accompanied them or not.

The indecision of the monarch was brought to an end, if we may believe Vinesauf, by the eloquent exhortation of one of his chaplains, who, after having insured himself against the sudden wrath of the hasty prince, proceeded to recapitulate all the glorious deeds which Richard had performed in life, and pointed out, how all would be dimmed and clouded by the abandonment of his high and holy enterprise. The appeal was not made in vain; and the following day it was proclaimed through all the host that the King of England would not quit the Holy Land, under any circumstances, before the Easter following.

The bustle of preparation succeeded; and Richard once more bending all his energies to the task before him, applied himself to collect the scattered soldiery of the Cross from every quarter, and to provide against that scarcity of provisions which had so often frustrated the efforts of the crusaders. The march was commenced on Sunday in the Octaves of the Holy Trinity, and universal joy animated the hearts of the Christians, even to the softening of the rich towards the necessities of their poorer brethren. The young knights and nobles gave up their chargers to carry the baggage of the lowly, while the owners of the horses marched on foot, and the purses and stores of the wealthy were shared spontaneously with the necessitous. In several divisions, the army marched on slowly towards Jerusalem, and arrived at Bethanopolis in the early part of June. Here, however, Richard was compelled to halt, and send Henry of Champagne to bring up the dilatory; for a number of the crusaders were still spending their time in idleness and luxury, at Acre and other cities; and the difficulties of the siege before him required the presence of every soldier who could be spared from the garrisons of the various fortresses.

The advance of the Christian army, the resolution of the King of England, and the unanimity which now reigned in the crusading host, were not unknown to Saladin, and that great prince once more prepared to repel the adversary with all the powers of Islamism. His troops were recalled from their winter quarters, provisions and military stores de-

manded from Egypt, and all the most celebrated officers of the Mahomedan army were called to assist in the defence of the Holy City. It would seem, indeed, that Saladin had divined the course which events would take, for he had spent the whole winter in repairing and strengthening the fortifications of Jerusalem, working with his own hands, and setting an example to all, by bringing stone for the reparation of the walls, from a distance, on the saddle of his own horse.* Emirs, priests, people, all toiled together, and the labour of two thousand Christian captives was added to complete the defences of the place.† Thus when Richard commenced his second march towards Jerusalem, the power of the sultan was recruited by repose, and the city he went to attack was in a far more formidable state of preparation than it had ever been since it fell into the power of Saladin. Jerusalem having thus been rendered nearly impregnable, the sultan himself retired, to command the vast forces he had collected in the neighbourhood; and the state of the city and the Mahomedan camp is thus depicted by an eye-witness. "The ramparts were manned with warriors, the neighbouring heights were covered with soldiers, all the fountains round about were poisoned, the wells and the cisterns were filled up; all Mussulmans were called to the defence of the Holy City."‡

* Ibn-alatir.

† Emadeddin.

‡ Bohaeddin. I have particularly marked these facts, in which every Mahomedan writer agrees, on account of the statement contained in the little history of Richard, to which I have more than once had occasion to refer, and which, in my opinion, gives a completely wrong view not only of the facts as they existed, but also of the subsequent conduct of the English monarch. Instead of this picture of preparation and resolution which the Arabian historians afford us, the work I allude to states—"At this time the Saracen dwellers in Jerusalem were so much terrified at the approach of the crusaders, that they left the city in great numbers. Saladin himself anticipated a defeat; and had Richard at once advanced, instead of encouraging a delay which only served to cool the enthusiasm of his men, the capital of Palestine would have fallen almost without resistance into his hands, and the main object of the crusade would have been accomplished."

With regard to the views of Saladin and all his principal emirs, the reader can consult Bohaeddin, of whose work a Latin translation is extant. In his account of the council held the very day before the retreat of the Christian forces, and especially in the speeches of the sultan himself, and of the famous Maschtoub, the defender of Acre, will be found proof incontrovertible that it was the intention of the Mahomedans to defend Jerusalem to the last. The only body in the

I do not find the number of troops collected by Saladin stated with any degree of accuracy ; but his army is afterwards compared to a flight of locusts covering the face of the earth, and his regular cavalry is estimated at twenty thousand : it would appear, indeed, from the anxiety of his guards to be led to a general battle, that his forces were at least equal, if not superior, to those of the crusade.

While still waiting at Bethanopolis for the arrival of the Count of Champagne, with the troops he had gone to collect, the army of the Cross once more became a prey to dissension and confusion. The French demanded loudly to be led at once to Jerusalem ; but Richard would not consent to so rash a step. He represented to the clamourers the state of defence in which the Holy City had been placed, and the immense force which Saladin had collected in the neighbourhood ; he showed them that the wells were poisoned, the country swept of its produce, and that the troops under his command were not sufficiently numerous, either for one division to bring water from the river while the other carried on the siege, or, during the operations against the city, to keep open the communication with Jaffa, whence all their provisions were derived. He foresaw that, as soon as they advanced across the mountains which intervene between Bethanopolis and Jerusalem, Saladin would sweep down into their rear, overwhelm the small detachment left at Lidda, cut off their supplies, and place them between a fortress, almost impregnable by any means in use at that period, and a superior army, and that in this position famine and thirst would do the work of the sword. The extent and strength of the walls he pointed out, and the facilities which the nature of the country afforded for the defence of the place ; and in the end he declared his conviction that those who urged him

army which showed any difference of opinion were the Mamalucks of the sultan's guard, who, after the council, demanded tumultuously to be led to battle. But the account of all the Arabian writers leaves no doubt that the state of preparation for defence in which Jerusalem had been placed, the immense army congregated in the neighbourhood and directed by the genius of Saladin, the distance of the Christians from their resources, the want of wholesome water, and the fiery season of the year, would have rendered the siege of the Holy City the most perilous undertaking of the whole war ; and that, instead of falling without resistance, that place would, in all probability, have proved the first stumbling-block in Richard's career of glory.

to such an enterprise, with forces so unequal to the task, sought to tarnish his glory by defeat, and impute blame to him for an undertaking which they had suggested. At the same time, he declared, that if it were determined to march forward, he would not abandon his companions, but, resigning the command, would accompany them, without a show of authority in a host which contemned his counsels, and without the responsibility of an undertaking which must end in defeat.

It was ultimately agreed to refer the question to a council composed of twenty persons, elected in equal numbers from the Templars, the Hospitallers, the nobles of the Holy Land, and the European crusaders. The result of their deliberation was the solemn confirmation of Richard's opinion. To attempt the siege of Jerusalem was pronounced impossible, and an attack upon Cairo* was recommended as promising much greater chances of success. Richard immediately declared his readiness to undertake that task; but the French, whose sole object, since they had advanced from Ascalon, seems to have been to embarrass his movements and lead him into difficulties, refused to accompany him, notwithstanding their solemn engagement to abide by the decision of the council. To induce them to lay aside their envious malignity, and follow to a more hopeful enterprise than that which they pretended an anxiety to undertake, Richard offered them† the use of his fleet for the transport of provisions and military stores, while the army proceeded by the sea-shore.‡ He, moreover, promised, if they consented, to lead in person seven hundred knights and two thousand men-at-arms, at his own expense, to assist in the undertaking.

But the French still refused, and amused themselves with composing ribald songs and satirical ballads upon Richard, to which the Troubadour monarch replied in a caustic *servente*. He did not, indeed, pass the whole time between the

* "Babylonia;" Cairo so frequently called by the Latin Chroniclers.

† This is remarkable. The words of Vinesauf are, "Classem meam . . . eis exhiberem."

‡ "Per maritima." This expression has been understood to imply that the proposal was to proceed to Egypt by sea. The word "ora" is frequently omitted; but "per maritima" always means, I imagine, by the sea-shore.

decision of the council and the retreat of the army in these idle recriminations. Three of his spies having brought him intelligence that a large and rich caravan was on its way from Cairo to Jerusalem, guarded by a body of fifteen hundred horse and a number of foot soldiers, he marched to surprise it, followed by five hundred horse and a thousand foot. The king himself preceded this small force, riding forward by moonlight from Galatia. Information of hostile movements, however, had been carried both to the caravan and to Saladin; and while the former moved hastily forward from the place where it had at first halted, a reinforcement of five hundred was sent to support its escort, making in all two thousand horse, besides infantry. As soon as the king was aware that the enemy had decamped, he commanded a party of light troops to follow, and, hanging on the rear of the caravan, to delay its march as far as possible. He himself, with the foot soldiers and heavy cavalry, came after, and ere long overtook his horse archers and cross-bow men, already engaged with the Mahommedan escort. The charge of the European knights and men-at-arms was not to be resisted; and although the soldiers of the sultan fought valiantly, they were speedily routed with great slaughter. The camels and dromedaries taken were estimated at four thousand seven hundred, besides an immense number of horses, mules, and asses, and all were loaded with the most precious commodities.* The spoils were divided by the king in equal proportions, according to a previous arrangement, between himself and the leader of the French forces which had accompanied him; but, on his return to his camp, Richard, with his usual liberality, distributed his share of the spoil amongst the soldiery, not even excluding those who had taken no part in the expedition.

* The account of this expedition given by the Arabian historian naturally differs somewhat from that of the Europeans, and is more romantic. Richard himself, according to their statements, visited the camp of the Mahommedans, disguised as a Bedouin, in order to judge with his own eyes of their number and disposition. Bohaeddin estimates the number of camels and other beasts of burden which fell into the hands of Richard at three thousand. He does not at all attempt to magnify the force with which the English monarch performed this feat, but he blames the Mussulman escort for having dispersed over the plain in search of water, and accounts for their rapid and total defeat, by saying they were attacked at dawn, still sleeping,—a statement which the Christian writers contradict.

No efforts could mitigate the rancour of the French, or keep the dispirited soldiery to their standards. Very soon after the decision of the council had been pronounced, a considerable number of crusaders retired to Jaffa, and every day the defections became more and more alarming. To undertake any great operation with an army in such a state Richard perceived was impossible, and he therefore resolved to leave the Christian possessions in the Holy Land in as defensible a condition as possible, and return to his own country, in the hope of frustrating the designs of domestic traitors and foreign foes. His retreat was conducted with great skill, and with very little loss, although Saladin followed the rear of the crusading army with an immense force. Daroum was dismantled; Ascalon was refreshed and garrisoned, in the face of the sultan's forces; and, pursuing his march by Jaffa, Richard reached Acre on the 26th of July, and immediately prepared to embark for his native land.

The greater part of his forces were already in the ships; seven galleys had set sail for Beirouth, on which he intended to make an attempt on his homeward voyage; and the king himself was about to depart from Acre on the following morning, when messengers from Jaffa presented themselves at the door of his tent, and demanded immediate audience.

The tale they told at once roused all the chivalrous energies of the King of England; and, without a moment's delay, he prepared to retread his steps, and succour the distressed garrison of a city in which all the sick and wounded of the army had been left.

During the retreat from Bethanopolis, Richard, anxious to secure the territories gained from the Saracens to his nephew, Henry of Champagne, had carried on negotiations with Saladin for a truce. The terms proposed by Richard were, in fact, that each party should retain possession of the towns and territories which it actually held; but Saladin, well informed of the pressing affairs which required the presence of his great adversary in England, demanded that the walls of Daroum and Ascalon should be rased.* Neither would yield upon this point, and thus the treaty failed. Daroum was dismantled, by Richard's orders, but Ascalon was strengthened, and its garrison reinforced; and the capture of Bei-

* Bohaeddin.

routh would have placed the whole sea-coast of Palestine, from the frontiers of the desert to Antioch, in the hands of the Christians. No sooner, then, had Richard retreated to Acre, than the innumerable hosts of the sultan were put in motion; and while a detachment marched to support the troops in Beirouth, the monarch himself, descending into the plains of Ramla, invested the city of Jaffa. As the walls had been but recently repaired, Saladin hoped to carry the place by a *coup de main*; but the Mahommedan troops were repelled at all points, and recourse was then had to the usual battering machines of the day. The resistance of the garrison and the inhabitants was so gallant as to call forth the admiration even of their enemies; and Bohaeddin exclaims, after describing the unshaken aspect of the troops within the shattered walls, when innumerable breaches had been effected—"Oh, my God, what men! What courage! What resolution! What strength of soul!"

It was, however, impossible to hold out long against a force so superior as that which Saladin brought against the place; and in the midst of the most furious assault, when the only defences of the town were the breasts of the garrison, a messenger was sent to Saladin with an offer of surrender. Saladin replied, that in the excited state of his troops and the indefensible condition of the town, he could not save it from pillage, but if the Christians would retire into the citadel, he would do what he could for them. This suggestion was followed; a part of the garrison and citizens retreated to the castle, and the town was occupied by the Mahommedans, who instantly commenced the work of plunder. A considerable number of the Christian inhabitants fled to the ships, headed by Alberic of Rheims, the governor, who was severely blamed for abandoning his companions;* but while these fugitives sought safety at sea, the Patriarch of Jerusalem assumed the command in the citadel, and entered into negotiations with the sultan for a capitulation. The terms were speedily agreed upon. The castle, it was arranged, should be surrendered, unless succoured within a

* The whole account of this transaction, as given by Vinesauf, is exceedingly confused and contradictory. Alberic of Rheims, who is here represented as flying to the ships, and escaping by sea, is, a few sentences further on, named amongst the hostages who gave themselves up to Saladin the same night.

certain time,* and for the short respite allowed, each man was to pay to Saladin ten gold bezants, each woman five, and each child three of the same coins. The patriarch himself offered to become one of the hostages, and, with several distinguished persons, gave himself up to the victor.

The usual discrepancy is now found between the account of the Arabian authors and the statements of the Christians. Each accuses the enemy of breach of faith, and it is probable that the terms were not clearly defined or fully understood. It is admitted, however, by Bohaeddin, who was sent into the town by Saladin, that his monarch endeavoured to make the Christians evacuate the citadel at break of day, in consequence of having heard that Richard was on his way to deliver his friends.

The tidings which were brought to the English sovereign, just on the eve of his embarkation for Europe, showed him that no time was to be lost, if he wished to save Jaffa from the hands of the infidel, or rescue his fellow-soldiers from their peril. Interrupting the messengers in their recital, he exclaimed: "Living Lord! I will go, God willing, to do what I can!" and immediately he caused the state of Jaffa to be announced to the leaders of the crusading force, with a demand that they should follow him to the relief of their brethren. The French, in the most peremptory manner, declared they would not accompany him anywhere; but the Templars and Hospitallers, with many of the Syrian knights, instantly armed, to set out under the command of Henry of Champagne. While these commenced their march by land, Richard, always ready to expose himself the first, embarked in his galleys, with eight of his chosen companions in arms

* Vinesauf says, in the printed edition, that the time fixed was the following day at noon; and yet, in the subsequent chapter (xiv.), he states that the messengers sent to warn Richard of the state of Jaffa told him that the town was taken, and the castle closely invested. They, moreover, referred to the capitulation, so that these events must have occurred before they set out. Now the distance from Jaffa to Acre, according to the map beside me, is fifty-five miles as the crow flies. The messengers reached Richard's camp at Acre, the king embarked, sailed for Jaffa, was detained by contrary winds three days (*triduo*) at Cayphas, and yet arrived in the night preceding the day appointed for the surrender. There is a great error either in the author's statement or the printed version of this work. Bohaeddin states, that Richard had received intimation of the attack upon Jaffa before the town itself was taken, and put to sea at once.

and several famous Genoese and Pisan* knights, and set sail at once for Jaffa. Contrary winds detained him for some days at Cayphas; but at length a favourable breeze springing up, brought the ships to Jaffa during the night which preceded the very day appointed for the surrender of the citadel. The king, not knowing whether the castle still held out, and seeing, as the morning rose, the shore covered with an innumerable host of Mussulmans, would not attempt to land till he had obtained some further indication of the state of the place. His vessels had been seen from the castle, however, and the appearance of the royal galley, with its crimson hull and sails, announced that the lion-hearted monarch was there in person. A certain presbyter, at this sight, full of "devotion to the glory of the Messiah," says the Arabian historian,† sprung down from the walls of the citadel, to a small hillock of sand at their foot, and then plunging into the sea, swam off towards the king's ship. Richard was the first to descry him battling with the waves, and as soon as he had reached his ship, and told his tale, the king ordered his galley to be run straight on shore. A cloud of arrows darkened the air as the royal bark bore on; the beach was lined with a phalanx of veteran soldiers; and on every side appeared the tents of the Mussulmans; but without pause or consideration, the galley pursued its course till the keel struck the sands, and then at once, before all others, Richard sprang into the sea, and rushed towards the land. Walter Dubois and Peter de Pratelles followed instantly, and then the other knights, accompanied by the small body of foot soldiers who were with the monarch. The lion-like courage of the English king, the awful renown of his name, and the fiery rapidity of his course, produced their usual effect upon the enemy. Sword in hand, he cleft his way, like a thunderbolt, leaving dead and dying on every side. "The Malek Ric! the Malek Ric!" was screamed by the flying foe, and a whole host fled before a mere handful, headed by the great

* I regret that I cannot give the names of these gallant Italians, as I do not find them recorded. The eight who are mentioned by name were, in the words of Vinesauf, "Comes Leicestriæ, Andreas de Chavegui, Rogerus de Satheya, Jordanus de Humez, Radulfus de Malo Leone, Archus de Fay, milites quoque de Pratellis."

† Bohaeddin. This author says that the presbyter employed a boat; but all other accounts declare that he swam.

warrior of Christendom. The Mussulmans rushed from the shore into the town, carrying consternation with them; the Christians in the citadel witnessed the scene, and recovering their courage, threw open their gates, and poured forth to support their deliverer; the Saracens were driven from street to street with terrible slaughter; Bohaeddin himself fled to the sultan, to tell the tale of Richard's arrival, and the defeat of his troops; the panic seized upon Saladin himself; and, as the English monarch, judging victory not yet complete, issued forth from Jaffa into the plain, to attack, with his scanty band, an army of more than a hundred thousand men, the great conqueror of the East fled from before his face, and left his camp in the hands of the enemy.*

Thus ended the famous day of Jaffa, which witnessed, perhaps, the most marvellous of all Richard's wonderful exploits; nor can we attribute the glowing colouring in which this event has been painted, to the enthusiasm or the flattery of his native historian, for the Arabian writers confirm, in almost every particular, the statements of Vinesauf, and record circumstances which the European has omitted. Amongst these is the conversation which followed between Richard and some of the Mahommedan officers, who, according to the chivalrous relations which had gradually established themselves between the adverse leaders, went to visit him after the battle was over. "The sultan is a great prince," said Richard; "he is, without doubt, the greatest and most powerful at present in Islamism. Why did he retire at my approach? By God! I did not come in a state for war, but merely with the refuse of my seamen. I am not in a condition to undertake anything important. Why did he go away?" The conversation proceeded in the same tone, Richard lauding highly the military skill of Saladin, till at length he dismissed his visitors, charged with a new demand for peace. His message, as reported by the Arabians, is so frank and characteristic, that it must not be here omitted. "In the name of God grant me peace," he said: "It is time this war should end. My territories are a prey to civil dis-

* "The sultan did not even think himself in safety," says Bohaeddin, "in the place where he happened to be. He sent away his baggage, and retired himself to some distance. His own camp was soon occupied by the Christians, and the king remained peaceably master of Jaffa."

cord. This war can be serviceable neither to you nor to me."

Some negotiations followed in the course of the next day ; but the same difficulties presented themselves, and parties prepared to carry on the war.

Intelligence having reached Saladin of the march of Henry of Champagne, he put his troops in motion to cut him off by the way ; but Richard instantly sent every man he could spare from Jaffa, to reinforce his nephew's army. The sultan learned in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea that this succour had reached its destination, and instantly changing his plan, and making a retrograde movement, he hurried back to crush the King of England ere the troops from here could come to his aid.* He arrived before Richard could recal his detachments, or take any other step to increase his strength, but, nevertheless, the confident expectations of the Mahommedan prince were disappointed.

During his movements upon Cæsarea, Saladin had left a large corps in observation before Jaffa,† and a small body of men, consisting of two tribes, called by the Latin historians Menelones and Cordivi, undertook to surprise the King of England in his tent, which, with that rashness from which neither argument nor experience could dissuade him, he continued to occupy in the open plain, while his troops laboured to repair the walls of the city. The attempt proved almost successful, and it is probable that Richard would have been a prisoner in the hands of the children of Islam, had not the vigilance of a Genoese soldier discovered the assailants as they were about to rush upon the king's tent.

This event, it would seem, occurred on the morning after Saladin's return from Cæsarea ; and the small force of the Christians under the walls of Jaffa was attacked by the whole power of the sultan, a few hours after the attempt upon the King of England's person had been frustrated. According to the account of the Arabian writers, Richard had at this time with him "ten horsemen and a few hundred foot soldiers, occupying in all ten tents." The account of Vinesauf does not differ much from this statement, although he says that there had by this time arrived in Jaffa itself nearly two thousand infantry.

* Bohaeddin.

† Vinesauf.

Notwithstanding the smallness of his own numbers, and the overpowering force of the enemy, the English monarch "was not disconcerted," says Bohaeddin, "and arrayed his little troop upon the sea-shore. The Mussulmans having surrounded the Christians on three sides, poured upon them all at once as one man; but the enemy remained firm, gnashing the iron teeth of war."

Richard himself was the soul of his whole army, if army it could be called. He animated the soldiers by his calmness, by his looks, and by his words. He pointed out that there was no possibility of escape—that the only safety was in vigorous resistance, and that if they must die, they might make the infidels pay dear for their triumph over a handful of Christians. His address was hardly finished, when the Saracens charged on every side; but the firm array of the little band intimidated the first body of adversaries; and they wheeled off, pursued by the bolts and arrows of the cross-bowmen and archers. The same was the case with other corps of the Sultan's army; and the crusaders remained firm, while the hosts of Saladin turned off from their iron front without having effected anything. So far the account of Vinesauf, and that of the Arabian writers, are harmonious; but for what followed, we must depend principally upon the former, as the Mussulmans do not mention the events that succeeded, although it is admitted by Bohaeddin that Daher, the son of Saladin, who commanded one corps of his father's army, was engaged with the little band of Richard.

Perceiving the hesitation of the enemy's squadrons, Richard determined by a bold effort to turn their indecision into discomfiture; and drawing out his handful of horse from amongst the infantry, he charged the enemy with his usual fire and vigour.* It would not appear that the Mahommedans

* The act would seem almost one of madness; and some writers have supplied from imagination motives to justify Richard's conduct. They have also supplied facts as a basis for the motives. But, as neither these facts nor the motives assigned are mentioned by the only writers who, we have reason to believe, were eye-witnesses, I dare not admit them. Thus it has been stated, that "The Turks presently desisted from the attempt to come to close quarters, and commenced their favourite mode of warfare by hurling javelins and discharging arrows into the midst of the impenetrable phalanx;" and further on, "This action appears little short of insanity; nor would it have been at all excusable, had there been any other way of diverting the attack from the battalion." I do not find one word in regard to the Mahommedans having hurled javelins or dis-

were at all panic-struck with this act of rashness. The English king, indeed, drove his way through several lines of the Mussulman army; but the enemy closed in rapidly upon him and his little band, resolved apparently to take their redoubted adversary dead or alive. The Earl of Leicester was unhorsed, and Ralph of Mauleon made prisoner; but the sword of the king afforded deliverance to his friends, as well as defence to himself. Cutting his way to the earl through the multitude that pressed upon him, Richard aided him to remount. Charging the party which was dragging away Ralph of Mauleon, he speedily set his friend at liberty, and then pursued his course, mowing down the light-armed Mussulmans with his tremendous arm.

In the midst of the battle a circumstance occurred which shows in a striking manner how strongly the Mahommedans were at this time imbued with the spirit of chivalry. Richard himself, as well as his companions, was badly mounted; for few horses had been found in Jaffa, and those feeble and incompetent to bear the enormous weight of an armed knight. During the hottest period of the contest, the king beheld a Mussulman leading up to him two splendid Arab horses, and was told by the messenger that they were a present from Malek-Adel, who besought him to accept and use them for his sake.*

In the mean time, a cry was heard that the enemy had gained the poorly-guarded city, which afforded some defence, though a very inefficient one, to the left of Richard's infantry; and hurrying thither in person with a body of cross-bowmen, the monarch drove out the assailants, and returned to carry

charged arrows into Richard's phalanx after they had turned from its front, in Vinesauf; and Bohaeddin gives a very different account of the whole affair. The names of Richard's ten companions in this famous charge were, Henry of Champagne (who had joined his uncle with a few companions by sea, the rest of the army remaining at Cæsarea), the Earl of Leicester, Bartholomew Mortimer, Ralph de Mauleon, Andrew de Chavigni (probably Savigni), Gerald de Finival (probably Furnival), Roger de Sacy (perhaps Lacy), William de Stagno (probably De l'Estang), Hugh de Neville, and Henry the German (Henricus Teutonicus), the king's standard-bearer. A modern writer has substituted the name of William de Barres for that of the last-named knight, for which there is no authority worthy of the slightest consideration.

* This fact is mentioned by most of the historians of the time, with slight variations. Bernard the Treasurer attributes the act of courtesy to Saladin himself; but I have followed the account of Vinesauf as the most authentic.

on the strife in the open field. During his absence, fear had prevailed over example with some of his followers; and the king found several hastening towards the galleys. His exhortations and reproaches, however, led them back to the battle; and once more plunging into the thickest of the enemy's ranks, Richard enacted feats of chivalry which puzzled his companion, Vinesauf, to find acts with which to compare them. Antæus, Hector, Achilles, Alexander of Macedon, Judas Maccabæus, and Rolando, are all found unequal to afford a simile for the English monarch as he appeared upon that day; and it would certainly seem that Richard had determined to perish or to conquer on the beach of Jaffa. For some time, totally alone in the midst of a cloud of enemies, he was lost to the eyes of the little phalanx on the shore, and a belief that he had been slain prevailed. The king, however, was still sweeping down all that opposed him; and his last achievement was the overthrow of one of Saladin's most famous emirs, who, contemptuously reproaching his soldiers with idleness and laziness, spurred on to encounter the Christian champion in single combat. One blow of Richard's hand, however, terminated his boasting and his life, cutting off, we are positively assured, the head, shoulder, and right arm at once. This terrible example seems to have struck terror into the troops around: they fell back on every side from the presence of the king, avoiding his tremendous sword, and endeavouring to bring him down with arrows. The fine temper of his hauberk resisted the stroke of missiles shot from a distance; and emerging from the opening ranks of the enemy, Richard appeared to the eyes of his anxious friends with innumerable arrows still sticking in the rings of his mail, and giving him the appearance of a hedgehog. Towards evening, Saladin withdrew his forces, leaving seven hundred of his men dead upon the field. At one period in the course of that day, according to the statement of Bohaeddin, who was present, Richard rode along the whole length of the Mussulman line, with his lance in the rest, daring the champions of the Crescent to come forth and meet him hand to hand; and at another moment, we find from Ibn-alatir, he dismounted between the two armies, and causing food to be brought him, dined tranquilly in face of the enemy.

That Saladin had on the field of Jaffa a sufficient force of willing and gallant soldiers to have crushed Richard and his little band, had not the king displayed great skill as well as the most unconquerable resolution, there can be no doubt; but it is equally certain that a large part of his army positively refused to close with the Christian troops, and that a spirit of insubordination and mutiny was very prevalent amongst them. The result of that day's efforts deeply affected the great Mahommedan leader. For three days he shut himself up in his tent, refusing to see any one, and afterwards listened to proposals for peace much more readily than before.*

Nor was Richard less eager for a suspension of arms than he had previously shown himself. He had no means of improving the advantage he had gained; his scanty forces forbade any great effort; and even had the French been willing to come to his aid, which they again refused, the tremendous exertions he had made at Jaffa had once more laid him on a bed of sickness. In this situation he had again recourse to negotiations, which were commenced by a demand on his part for fruits and snow. Saladin willingly sent him all that he required; but, at the same time, hearing by his spies that the forces of the king were daily diminishing—so much so, indeed, that in the end not more than from two to three hundred men remained in Jaffa—he formed the design of seizing the person of Richard,† and even sent to inform him of his intention.‡ Richard answered that he would await his coming; but the situation of the Christians in Jaffa was now desperate; a pestilence raged in the city, which was attributed to the exhalations of the putrid and unburied corpses. The French refused the slightest aid; the barons of Syria were weary of the warfare, and unwilling to protract it; and as the destruction of Ascalon was the only subject of difference between the King of England's

* Bohaeddin: from whom also is derived the accounts we possess of the refusal of many of the Mahommedan bands to attack the forces of Richard. I should not perhaps have ventured to place so much reliance on Vinesauf's statements in regard to this battle, did not the Arabians admit that the Prince Daher, who commanded the right wing of Saladin's army, was engaged with Richard's troops, and did not Vinesauf refer to the part taken by several persons still living when he wrote.

† Bohaeddin.

‡ Vinesauf.

proposals and the terms offered by the sultan, Richard determined to concede that point.

Malek-Adel, always generous and chivalrous, undertook, at the request of Richard, to conduct the negotiation with his brother, and the terms were soon agreed upon. A treaty was drawn up by Bohaeddin, in which a truce of three years was granted, and the principal stipulations were, that the territories and towns of Jaffa, Cæsarea, Azotus, Cayphas, Acre, and Tyre,* should remain in the hands of the Christians, while the rest of Palestine was occupied by the Mahommedans; Ascalon was to be dismantled by equal detachments from the two armies, and the Lordships of Lidda and Ramla were to be divided.† Richard demanded that Antioch and Tripoli should be included in the truce, and Saladin required that all the Mussulman territories should enjoy the same advantage. Such was the substance of the treaty, according to the account of Bohaeddin; but Vinesauf adds several minor stipulations, which were either expressed in the document or promised by parole. Amongst these were, unrestricted commercial intercourse between the Christians and Mahommedans, and free access for the former to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre.

The treaty, after having been put into proper form by the sultan's scribes, was carried to Richard for his approbation; but the English monarch was too ill even to hear it read. "You see the state I am in," he said to Saladin's deputies; "carry the treaty to my nephew and the other crusading princes. I agree to all that they determine." Henry of Champagne and the barons of Palestine, with the chiefs of the Temple and Hospital on one part, and Malek-Adel with the two sons of Saladin, and his principal emirs on the other, swore to the due observance of the truce. Richard and Saladin took no oath, but gave the hand to the deputies appointed to receive their pledge; and each contented himself with the promise of the other. Peace was immediately

* It is stated in a late history of Richard, that "the castles and fortresses taken by the Christians since the siege of Acre, especially Ascalon, were to be demolished." It is necessary to remark, that Bohaeddin makes no mention of such a stipulation, except in the case of Ascalon.

† According to the Arabian historians, one-half of the territories of Lidda and Ramla were granted to Richard as compensation for the expenses which he had incurred in fortifying Ascalon.

proclaimed; and from that moment the Christians and Mussulmans mingled together, to use the expression of the Arabian writers, as if they had always been brethren. Large bands of crusaders hastened to Jerusalem; Saladin and Richard sent presents to each other; but the English king, with sorrow and disappointment, refused to visit the Holy City, which he had been unable to enter as a conqueror.*

The pilgrims to Jerusalem were courteously received and kindly treated by the sultan and his emirs, and the Bishop of Salisbury especially was entertained with marked distinction; but Saladin remained ill at ease till Richard had quitted Palestine. Though he executed faithfully his part of the treaty, it would appear that he was not well contented with his own act in making peace at all. He even wrote an apologetic letter to the khalif.† But Saladin's health was now giving way under the incessant fatigues he had endured. "I know not what may be God's will with me," he said one day to Bohaeddin; and the historian proceeds to remark, that in truth this truce, so distasteful to Saladin, was the salvation of Islamism; for he who had been the chief pillar of the Mussulman power in Syria, only survived the signature of the treaty six months, and civil war and intestine strife spread through his vast dominions.‡

Richard recovered but slowly from the sickness by which he had been attacked; and even when so far convalescent as to bear a removal to the better air of Cayphas, he was still in a weak and insecure state of health; but every fresh arrival from England showed him more and more the necessity of his presence in his hereditary dominions, and he eagerly hastened his preparations.

If difficulties and dangers had attended his course in Palestine, still greater perils awaited him on his way back, and menaced him on his arrival in England; but speed was of all things most necessary to the English king; and the

* Richard of Devizes.

† Abou Schameh.

‡ Christian writers have embellished their account of the death of Saladin with a variety of particulars which are not mentioned by the Arabian writers who surrounded the monarch at the time. Among the rest, the story of his having sent his shroud through the streets of Damascus, is apparently a figment. Saladin died of bilious fever, after an illness of thirteen days, during the greater part of which time he was delirious.

situation of affairs in Normandy, as well as Great Britain, induced him to take a step which, however imprudent, was quite consonant with his bold and chivalrous character. He determined, then, to send his wife, his sister, and his army by sea, and to proceed himself by land, in order to reach more rapidly his native shores, and appear amongst his enemies when they least expected him. He was detained some time in paying his debts, and making the best arrangements he could to secure the power of his nephew in that part of Palestine which had been regained; and, consequently, his fleet set sail before him, quitting Acre on the 29th September, 1192. Richard now remained with very few attendants in the midst of many powerful enemies; but none of them, it would seem, was so dead to honour as to take advantage of his confidence. Robert de Sablé, Grand Master of the Temple, with whom Richard had had some serious disputes in the course of the war, now showed a noble and generous spirit towards the great monarch, and agreed to put at his disposal one of the galleys of the order, to convey him to that port in Europe where he intended to land. The king was permitted, also, to assume the habit of a Templar; and four faithful brethren of the order were appointed to accompany him. In addition to these knights, Richard's companions consisted of Baldwin de Bethune, William de l'Estang, a chaplain, and a secretary, together with a few menial servants, amongst whom was a page who could speak German, which accomplishment was probably the cause of his selection.

The conduct of European princes at this time towards the unfortunate remnant of Richard's army, was a disgrace to the men and to the age. Had the English and Norman soldiers been a band of pirates, returning from an expedition disapproved by all Christian nations, instead of a body of pilgrim warriors, coming back from an enterprise suggested by the highest authority of the Church, and carried on with zeal, devotion, and sincerity, however mistaken, they could not have been treated with more brutal severity. In sailing towards England, one of those severe storms which frequently occur in the Mediterranean, dispersed the king's fleet, and drove many of the ships on shore. The crews and the passengers, knights, nobles, and pilgrims, were seized, cast into dungeons, and treated as prisoners of war; nor did they

obtain their liberty till enormous ransoms had been extorted from them.

It is probable that intelligence of these events had not reached Richard before he set sail himself; but if it had, he might obtain some consolation in finding, that now, when he was about to depart, his character and his glorious deeds were justly estimated by many of those whose eyes had been long blinded by party spirit and virulent jealousy. An immense number of the crusaders, of every nation and every class, accompanied him to the port of Acre when the time of his departure arrived. They recollected then, his valour, his conduct, his bounty, his generosity: they remembered that he had spent his treasures, shed his blood, perilled his life, endangered his crown, in the same cause to which they all were devoted, and the tears, prayers, and blessings of those he was leaving behind, followed him as he sailed away from Syria, on the 9th October, 1192.*

* N. B.—Henceforward, to the conclusion of this work, the author must content himself with giving a mere sketch of the history of Richard Cœur-de-Lion from the ordinary and established authorities, as he cannot hope to cast any new light upon the subject. In the subsequent parts of Richard's life and reign, there are several very dark and difficult points, respecting which the writer of these pages is by no means satisfied. He has, however, spared no pains to arrive at more correct information, especially regarding that very obscure part of the English monarch's history—his imprisonment by the Duke of Austria, and long detention by the emperor. After having engaged one gentleman to search for further information at Vienna, without any satisfactory result, he intended to proceed to that capital himself, in the hopes of obtaining permission, by the influence of powerful friends, to search the archives of the House of Austria, and was already within a few hundred miles of the imperial city, when all his plans and purposes were disarranged by a severe domestic affliction, which fixed him for many months to one spot. By the time that the cause of his sojourn in the place where he had remained was at an end, it became necessary for him to return to England, so that he was deprived of the hope that his own researches might throw light upon these obscure transactions. Not giving up all expectation, however, he requested two friends of great erudition and perseverance to undertake the task, which they readily did, but unfortunately without the desired result; and the author is consequently obliged to leave the narrative as he finds it in the ordinary histories of the time, although he is obliged to acknowledge that he has no confidence in a great deal of that which is stated in the following pages. Indeed, he would have gladly avoided writing so much that is doubtful; but it was necessary to conclude the work in some manner—and he had already been censured severely and unjustly for delay. He read in the pages of perhaps the very best periodical paper of the day a letter, addressed to the editor on this subject, at a time when the author, in the midst of deeper domestic affliction than he trusts the writer of that letter may ever know, was corresponding daily with several gentlemen in Germany, who were labouring kindly, though fruit-

BOOK XIX.

WHAT was the exact course towards England which Richard Cœur-de-Lion proposed to pursue when he sailed from Acre is not known. He is supposed to have been driven up the Adriatic by storms; but the fact of his having a boy with him who spoke German—a rare accomplishment amongst the English and Normans—would afford a presumption, that from the first he proposed to pass through Germany.

In the Mediterranean he encountered a severe tempest, which compelled his galley to take refuge in a harbour on the shores of Corfu; and thence he sailed up the Adriatic, intending, it is believed, to land at Ragusa. All accounts agree, that he was driven by stress of weather to the head of the gulf, where his vessel ran aground, somewhere between Venice and Trieste.

There is much reason to suppose either, as some have asserted, that an emissary of his enemies accompanied him in the very vessel that bore him, and gave immediate intimation to the people on shore that the King of England was in the galley, disguised as a Templar, or that a swifter sailing ship had been despatched with intelligence of his movements. Certain it is, that a general order had been given, before his arrival in Carniola, to stop all pilgrims coming from the Holy Land, and that the nobles of the country had been taught to expect that the King of England would attempt to pass that way.

On what account we know not, Richard, immediately after

lessly, to obtain for him the accurate information he desired. It could hardly be expected that he should notice such a letter, or answer questions put in the tone assumed: and it is only necessary here to state that, long before that letter was written, this work was completed up to the point, where he had to choose between delaying the conclusion while he searched for truth, or to follow statements which he believed to be more than doubtful. He chose to pursue his search as long as there was a probability of obtaining truth; but all his efforts having been ineffectual, he is now driven to adopt the latter course. He thinks it but fair, however, to the public to state, that a great part of that which follows has been written under a strong feeling of uncertainty, for he would fain not mislead where he cannot enlighten.

landing, abandoned the disguise which he had hitherto worn, and took the garb of a merchant of Damascus. His beard and hair had been suffered to grow very long, and he assumed the name of Hugo ; but all precautions were vain against the keen eyes which were watching his movements. At Goritz, where the king next paused with his friends and personal attendants, the Templars having been left behind, inquiries were made by the lord of the territory—a relation of the deceased Marquis of Montferrat, named Meinhard—in regard to the quality and destination of the party of travellers. The reply was, that they were Baldwin de Bethune, a Norman knight, with his attendants, and one Hugo, a merchant of Damascus, travelling under his escort. At the same time, Richard sent a valuable ring by the messengers of Meinhard as a present to their lord. Apparently this was an act of great imprudence ; and it has been severely censured as such ; but it must be recollected, that at this time not a few of the lords of the land derived a considerable portion of their revenues from the oppression of merchants travelling through their territories ; and as personal violence often accompanied exaction, it was frequently a part of policy to avert maltreatment by presents. Thus Richard, in sending the ring, unless there was something peculiar in its form or material, was only enacting the character he had assumed. Either its value, however, or some distinctive mark, led Meinhard to recognise it as the property of the King of England ; and he sent it back with a message, which at once showed that Richard was discovered through his disguise. The German baron assumed a tone of generous interest in the king's fate, which I cannot think altogether affected. He told the monarch that he recognised him by his act ; that he had received orders to take no gift from any one, and to stop all pilgrims from the Holy Land ; but that in his case he would not obey those orders, except by returning his ring.

Alarmed at finding his secret so easily penetrated, and perhaps having obtained information of which we know nothing, the English prince hurried forward without any further communication with Meinhard, leaving Goritz the same night. It is difficult to account for the course which Richard now pursued ; for instead of turning towards the

Tyrol, and pursuing his journey to England by the western states of Germany, where fewer difficulties and dangers would have lain in his way, he directed his journey towards the north-east, which necessarily led him towards the dominions of a prince whom he had treated with scorn, and rendered his mortal enemy. We are compelled to suppose that impediments, of which we know nothing, prevented his taking his course towards the Brenner, instead of plunging into Carinthia. Advancing every day nearer and nearer to the capital of the Duke of Austria, we next hear of him at Freisach, which at that time belonged to a near relative of Meinhard, named Frederick of Breteson; and a romantic incident is narrated of Richard's short stay in this place, which perhaps really occurred. Meinhard, we are told, had sent messengers to his relation, informing him that the King of England had just passed through Carniola, and would probably soon arrive at Freisach, advising him at the same time to arrest the monarch if he could lay hands upon him. The arrival of a body of distinguished travellers was immediately communicated to Breteson, who, having amongst his retainers an old soldier, a Norman by birth, directed him to go down to the inn, and ascertain if possible whether Richard was with the party which had lately entered the town. The old man found the monarch nearly alone at the inn, and either recognised him at once, as some say, or prevailed upon him to acknowledge his royal station, as others assert. Large rewards had been promised to him if he succeeded in bringing about the arrest of the king; but old attachment to his native prince prevailed over the temptation; and, throwing himself at the king's feet, he told him his danger, and entreated him to secure himself by instant flight. He even furnished the monarch with a fresh horse, we are assured; and Richard, taking his advice, set out at once, accompanied only by William de l'Estang and the page.

Baldwin de Bethune, and the rest of the king's followers, were left behind at Freisach. Some say that they were strolling in the town, and that Richard had not time to find them; but others assert, that all agreed it would be better for Richard to proceed with as small a company as possible, in order to avoid the eager eyes which were watching for his passage. All the intelligence which the English monarch

had received, must have shown him that an eager and powerful enemy had set traps for him over the face of the whole country; and it is hardly possible to suppose that he did not recognise the animosity of the Duke of Austria in these attempts to seize him. Nevertheless, from Freisach he took his way direct to Vienna, where, worn out with fatigue, he sought lodging in a small house in one of the neighbouring villages, which served as a sort of suburb to the city. During his stay here, he resolved not to set his foot out of the house, but sent the boy, who accompanied him and De l'Estang, to the public market to buy provisions. It is probable that intimation of his having passed through Goritz and Freisach had by this time been communicated to the Duke of Austria, and that means had been taken to inquire into the real position of every stranger who visited Vienna. Whether the boy sent to the market was very lavish of his money, as some have declared; or whether he was recognised by some of the attendants of the Duke of Austria, as others assert; or was detected by the use of Syrian coin, as we find stated by other authors, cannot be clearly ascertained. The last account of Richard's discovery is the least probable, as the use of Syrian coin could be looked upon as nothing extraordinary in a merchant of Damascus, which was the character assumed by the King of England. The poor page, however, was arrested on his second or third visit to the market. The king's gloves were found upon him, and were undoubtedly of a different form from the gloves of the ordinary trader. He was interrogated as to his master's rank and place of abode, and, steadily refusing to betray his trust, he was cruelly put to the torture. Agony wrung nothing from him, however; but a threat was then added to tear out his tongue by the roots if he remained silent; and the terrified boy, having already experienced what the barbarians dared to do, told all he knew, and indicated the dwelling of the king. The house was immediately surrounded by a number of men in arms; and Richard, according to the generally received account, was taken in his sleep.*

* Others state, that the armed multitude did not venture to enter the house where the king was lodged, so great was the terror of his name; and that Richard, finding he was discovered, and that escape was impossible, calmly directed the people to summon the Duke of Austria to receive his sword in person. It is

The arrest of Richard took place on the 20th of December; and news was immediately conveyed to the Emperor Henry VI., who, as the superior lord of the whole territory, claimed the prisoner at the hands of the duke. Negotiations took place as to the share to be assigned to Austria, in the ransom, which the base captor and his greedy confederate calculated upon obtaining; and Henry at length agreed, that the duke should receive a sum amounting to sixty thousand pounds. Upon these conditions, the captive monarch was transferred to the custody of the emperor. He was confined for a considerable length of time, however, in the castle of Dürenstein, on the banks of the Danube, in the custody of Hadamar von Kuenring, an officer of the Duke of Austria,* before he was given up to Henry. Dürenstein, the remains of which are still visible, is situated on the banks of the Danube, near the spot where the river, after passing through the narrow gorges above Mölk, opens out into the plain of Vienna, and is surrounded on every side by rugged rocks, which in some places form a sort of outer wall around it. The castle itself is in a wild and solitary situation at the top of the hill; while the picturesque little town lies at its foot, on the banks of the river. In those days it must have been a place of great strength; but its situation gives the impression, that secrecy as well as security was an object in the selection of Richard's place of confinement.

We have no very accurate information of how the captive monarch was treated in his rocky prison; but it is generally stated, that William de l'Estang and the poor boy who had suffered torture for his sake, were detained in the same fortress, and were permitted to pass the hours of daylight with their sovereign. We are told, also, that Richard found healthful amusement in mingling with the rude sports of the

added, that the duke came, and that to him Richard surrendered. This tale bears every appearance of fiction, invented to embellish a meagre narrative.

* It has been mistakenly asserted that Richard was confined in Dürenstein by the emperor. Dürenstein belonged to Austria, and Herr Duller has the following passage, in speaking of Hadamar von Kuenring:—"Ihm übergab Herzog Leopold VI. den gefangenen König Richard Löwen Herz zu ritterlicher haft." He shows that Richard was several months in Dürenstein before he was given up to the emperor, and transferred to Trifels. It is probable that Leopold's share of the ransom was paid to him at once by Henry, as was customary when a superior lord bought a prisoner from a vassal.

soldiery who formed his guard, and was well pleased to see them try their powers in vain against his own gigantic strength. His active mind, unquelled by misfortune, had other resources within itself; and, though his spirit doubtless fretted at his unjust imprisonment, we find that the arts of the poet and the musician, in which he had taken so much delight in brighter days, served to cheer the gloom of his captivity. A *sirvente*, or rather a *plainte*, consisting of seven stanzas, is still extant, which was undoubtedly composed by the monarch while a prisoner in Dürenstein or Trifels. Several versions of this ballad are given, varying considerably in the language; but all of them bearing internal evidence of its having been the king's own composition, and displaying extraordinary poetical powers. Few of the lays of the Troubadours, or Trouvères, have been more celebrated; and I do not know more than four or five which can be compared with it in true poetical spirit.*

* I give a very free translation of it from Ritson's Ancient Songs and Ballads, in which the vigour and point are certainly rather decreased than augmented:

No wretched captive of his prison speaks,
Unless with pain and bitterness of soul;
Yet consolation from the muse he seeks,
Whose voice alone misfortune can control.
Where now is each ally, each baron, friend,
Whose face I ne'er beheld without a smile?
Will none, his sovereign to redeem, expend
The smallest portion of his treasures vile?

That none may blush that near two tedious years,
Without relief, my bondage has endured,
Yet know, my English, Norman, Gascon peers,
Not one of you should thus remain immured;
The meanest subject of my wide domains,
Had I been free, a ransom should have found;
I mean not to reproach you with my chains,
Yet still I wear them on a foreign ground!

Too true it is, so selfish human race!
"Nor dead, nor captives, friend or kindred find,"
Since here I pine in bondage and disgrace,
For lack of gold, my fetters to unbind.
Much for myself I feel, yet, ah! still more
That no compassion from my subjects flows;
What can from infamy their names restore,
If, while a pris'ner, death my eyes should close.

But small is my surprise, though great my grief,
To find, in spite of all his solemn vows,
My lands are ravag'd by the Gallic chief,
While none my cause has courage to espouse.

The view generally taken of the character of Richard is simply under its military aspect. Those who have most favourably regarded him, have only spoken of him as a great and successful military commander, or a daring and adventurous knight. This, however, is doing him hardly justice; for the records of his life show a great many other qualities, raising him considerably above most of the princes of the age in which he lived. Any contrast between him and John would appear too extravagant; but compared with the Duke of Austria, or with the Emperor Henry, how highly does he rise in esteem, not only as a soldier, but a man; and even side by side with Philip Augustus, the most distinguished sovereign of his time, with the exception of Richard himself, we shall find the English sovereign not injured in our opinion by the contrast. As a general and a soldier, Richard was infinitely superior to his great rival. As a politician, he was inferior, although it must be remarked, that Richard could never have belonged to that class of politicians amongst which Philip must be ranked, without the sacrifice of all those qualities which win our esteem and love. He could not have been frank and straightforward, bold and generous, and yet have pursued that course of policy which, by deceit, dissimulation, violation of all engagements, and taking every ungenerous advantage of friend and enemy, led to the accom-

Though lofty towers obscure the cheerful day,
Yet, through the dungeon's melancholy gloom,
Kind Hope, in gentle whispers, seems to say,
"Perpetual thralldom is not yet thy doom."

Ye dear companions of my happy days,
Oh, Chail and Pensavin, aloud declare,
Throughout the earth in everlasting lays,
My foes against me wage inglorious war.
Oh tell them, too, that ne'er among my crimes
Did breach of faith, deceit or fraud, appear;
That infamy will brand to latest times
The insults I receive while captive here.

Know all ye men of Anjou and Touraine,
And ev'ry bach'lor knight, robust and brave,
That duty now and love alike are vain,
From bonds your sov'reign and your friend to save.
Remote from consolation here I lie,
The wretched captive of a pow'rful foe,
Who all your zeal and ardour can defy,
Nor leaves you aught but pity to bestow!

plishment of so many of Philip's designs. Nevertheless, it is strange to remark, how very unsuccessful were the plans of the French king against the bold and manly course of his great rival. It may be said, that the military genius of Richard more than counterbalanced the political cunning of Philip; but I cannot help believing, with Sully, that a candid and truthful policy is often the most judicious and the most successful. Then, again, as a private individual, the mind of Richard, in many respects, rose far above that of the French king. His fondness for the arts, his poetical genius, his sparkling wit, which, though bitter and sarcastic, was never aimed at aught but prominent vices and follies—the learning and extent of information which, according to Hoveden, he occasionally displayed, and the eloquence which he employed at various times to influence the actions of others, and to defend himself, raised him far above the King of France in his mere personal character. The quality in which he seems to have been inferior to Philip, and which justifies the reputation of the latter as a great statesman, was a comprehensive and persevering conception of great objects. Here Philip was undoubtedly pre-eminent. Philip saw beyond the times in which he lived. Richard acted for them alone; and thus the crusade, which was the grand event of Richard's life, was but an episode in that of the King of France. To say that he was a general more than a statesman, and that Philip was more a politician than a warrior, is only justice to both; but to attribute Richard's renown merely to "brutal and ferocious valour," as Gibbon has done, is to show either prejudice or ignorance. In giving an account of the battle of Assur, of the march of the crusaders from Acre, of the advance upon Jerusalem, and of the retreat from Bethanopolis, I have shown that, where the safety of the army was concerned, and where the objects of the whole crusade were at stake, Richard displayed much higher and very different qualities, as a leader, from brutal and ferocious valour: great military skill, a prudent calculation of difficulties and dangers, and the most resolute self-command in resisting the foolhardy enthusiasm of the troops, even when assailed by personal insult, and in restraining the impulses of his own daring spirit, and subjecting the eager energies of his own lion-like heart to the government of reason and sound policy

That he was liberal of his wealth, kind and generous in disposition, forgiving, though passionate, and generally patient of small offences, though scornful of all that is mean and low, the history of his life abundantly shows; and the calm and dignified equanimity with which he bore his long and iniquitous imprisonment, with his heart unshaken, and his courage never deserting him, enlivening his captivity with sports, and consoling his solitary hours with song, affords a picture of magnanimous endurance, which may well add to the reputation of the victor of Assur and the hero of Jaffa.

We do not exactly know the day on which Richard was carried from the castle of Dürenstein to that of Trifels; but it is clear that every means was taken to conceal the fact of Richard's imprisonment, and to hide him from the eyes of all. Three persons were greatly interested in the detention of the King of England, though the different passions which actuated them led them to differ from each other in regard to many minor points, and especially as to the length of time during which the captive should be confined. John, his brother, was anxious that the unjust imprisonment should be perpetual, in order that he might be enabled to seize the dominions of his great brother during the infancy of his nephew Arthur. Philip Augustus, King of France, moved by the great strong passion of his life—that of territorial acquisition—fixed his eyes upon Normandy, and clearly comprehended, that his only chance of wresting from the crown of England the continental territories of the English monarchs, would be the death or continued imprisonment of the King of England. The character of John he understood well, and appreciated at its right value. No difficulties of any great importance would obstruct the execution of his design, if Richard were still held in captivity, and if John were successful in usurping the throne. The two, therefore, were anxious that the imprisonment of the king should be protracted to the utmost; but the emperor was influenced by different feelings, which ultimately produced the liberation of the captive. The love of gold was his ruling passion; and, consequently, his only object in the detention of the English prince was to extract from him, or rather from his people, the largest ransom that circumstances enabled them to pay. The conduct of these three princes, in the transac-

tions which ensued, I shall have to trace more minutely hereafter, when I have given a brief sketch of the events which had occurred in Richard's dominions during his long absence in the Holy Land.

BOOK XX.

It is now necessary to notice, as concisely as possible, the events which had occurred in England during the absence of the king. Richard, as I have previously shown,* had delegated his power to Hugh de Pusey, Bishop of Durham and Earl of Northumberland, and to William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, his chancellor. These two prelates exercised the supreme authority under the name of chief justiciaries, the former beyond the Humber, the latter over the whole of the rest of England. As might naturally be expected, a struggle very speedily commenced between two ambitious men; and the most daring and able remained master of the field. The combination of ambition and weakness is always dangerous to the individual in whose mind it exists; and Pusey was in no degree competent to contend with Longchamp. The Bishop of Ely, without hesitation, seized and imprisoned his brother justiciary, and forced from him, as the price of his liberation, not only his commission from the king, but also all the strong places he held in the north. He thus grasped in his own hands all power in the land, the civil as sole justiciary, the ecclesiastical as papal legate.

The character of Longchamp has been so differently represented by different contemporaries, that it is very difficult, at this remote period, to form a just appreciation thereof. The general impression is that he was haughty, overbearing, avaricious, grasping, and unprincipled; but yet Peter of Blois takes a very different view of his character, and speaks of his wisdom, generosity, gentleness, and benevolence. This testimony was probably in some degree prejudiced; but at the same time it was evidently for the interest of many persons in England to calumniate the justiciary, and to represent all his actions in the most unfavourable point of

* Book xiii.

view.* While Richard was still in Normandy, a great number of the clergy and others went over to complain of the conduct of the chancellor; but Longchamp had the ear of his royal master, and was maintained in power notwithstanding all the intrigues carried on against him. Those intrigues, however, became more dangerous as Richard proceeded on his expedition; and Longchamp committed a great error in suffering Prince John to return to England. We are assured, upon very good authority, that Richard, before he departed for the Holy Land, bound both John and his illegitimate brother Geoffrey by an oath to abstain from visiting England for three years; but it is clear that John was permitted to return, with the consent of the chancellor, if not of the king;† and from that moment the prince began to strengthen himself against Longchamp, seeking partisans amongst all the discontented in the realm. It is probable that John, in the first instance, only aimed to secure for himself the succession to the throne, to the exclusion of Arthur, his elder brother's child; for we find undoubted proof that Richard's intention of making Arthur his heir, should he himself die childless, was known to John at a very early period. In pursuit of this object, the first steps of John were directed to diminish the power of Longchamp, who, we have every reason to believe, was entrusted by Richard with the secret of his intentions towards Arthur, and commissioned to carry them into execution. Innumerable bickerings took place between the prince and the prelate almost from the moment of John's return to England; and while by every art the king's brother endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the nobles and the people, Longchamp disgusted them by the assumption of more than regal pomp. He never appeared in public without a train of fifteen hundred mounted men, thus impoverishing the abbeys and monasteries where he lodged in his journeys, by the accommodation and provisions he required. He moreover bestowed all offices in the church and state upon his kindred

* Richard of Devizes. This author gives the following account of the chancellor:—"Willelmus Eliensis episcopus et regis Cancellarius, alter naturaliter Jacob, licet non luctasset cum angelo, persona spectabilis, brevitatem corporis animo recompensans," &c.

† Richard of Devizes. Giraldus.

and dependents, and treated the lords of the exchequer,* whom Richard had left in some degree to control his power, with contempt and almost insult.

The murmurs of the people were embodied in a formal letter of complaint by John and his advisers; and the document was sent over to Richard, then at Messina. According to some accounts, the Archbishop of Rouen, at the time when the memorial of the complainants reached the king's hands, had already made up his mind to abandon the crusade and return to Normandy. According to others, he was sent back on a special mission by Richard to quiet the dissensions between John and the chancellor, and to check the domineering spirit of the latter. He was furnished with letters patent from Richard, the real nature of which has been matter of dispute; and indeed, doubts have been entertained as to the authenticity of those which he did ultimately produce; but it is probable that such doubts were suggested by the timidity which induced him to conceal for some time the authority with which he was invested. On his arrival in England, the archbishop found the power of Longchamp so great, and exercised with such daring vigour, that he was terrified at the idea of encountering an adversary so dangerous and unscrupulous; and he did not announce the commission he had received from the king till after he had ascertained that he was likely to be supported in arms in case of the chancellor's resistance. It would seem, from the account of Richard of Devizes, which is one of the most favourable to Longchamp, that negotiations were carried on privately by John and the archbishop with all the principal nobles who remained in England, that in a very short time the support or the neutrality of a great part of the population was secured, and that nothing was wanting but a plausible motive for wresting the supreme authority from the hands of the Bishop of Ely. That motive was soon furnished by Longchamp; but his conduct on this occasion, as upon most others, is represented in the most different manner by the historians of the time, as their party prejudices biassed them. I am inclined to believe, however, that much reliance may be placed upon Richard of Devizes, even in opposition to the Abbot of Peterborough, who was undoubtedly a par-

* Richard of Devizes calls them *Barones Scaccarii*.

tisan of the Archbishop of Rouen, and received signal favours at his hands. It is generally stated that Longchamp, having received some offence from Gerard de Camville, who held the castle of Lincoln, and exercised authority in the country round, determined to deprive him of that stronghold, and to place therein a favourite of his own; that Camville resisted the chancellor's commands, and that Longchamp immediately besieged him in Lincoln. Richard of Devizes, however, gives a very different account of the matter, and points out motives for the chancellor's conduct, which probably really existed. He calls Gerard de Camville a factious man, and gives us to understand that there was every probability of his doing homage to Prince John for the castle of Lincoln. Such were the causes of the Bishop of Ely's attack upon Lincoln, according to Richard's account; and the after conduct of John, and many of the Norman nobles, gives a great probability to this statement. This act of the chancellor, however, was a signal for the struggle to commence. John called to his aid the barons, with whom he had already negotiated, and laid siege to the castle of Nottingham, at the same time sending an imperious order to the chancellor to withdraw his troops from Lincoln.

The observation of Longchamp on this occasion is remarkable. "Never believe me," he said to the leaders of his army, "if this man does not seek to subjugate the kingdom to himself." He did not find himself, however, sufficiently powerful to enter upon the struggle with John at once, and had recourse to means of negotiation. It would appear that he employed the Archbishop of Rouen to bring the prince to reason by gentler means than force of arms; and here again the conduct of the parties is very differently represented by different writers. By some, the archbishop's proceedings are stated to have been moderate and judicious; and even Doctor Henry, usually so careful, speaks of him as a wise and virtuous prelate. Very different is the view taken of his conduct by his contemporary, Richard of Devizes. "The chancellor," he says, "sent the Archbishop of Rouen to the count (*i. e.* John), commanding him imperatively to yield the castles, and answer in the king's court for the oath he had broken towards his brother." He then goes on to say that the archbishop, "skilful in working with both

hands," praised the firmness of the chancellor, but instigated John in private against him, while in public he advised that the prince and the chancellor should meet and compromise their differences.

Whether the prelate thus sacrificed the best interests of his monarch and friend or not, would be difficult to determine at this remote period; but certain it is that the fatal advice here attributed to him was followed. Peace was concluded between John and the chancellor, after great difficulties and infinite precautions against each other. Both came well attended to the place of meeting at Winchester, where Richard of Devizes was living at the time. His account is very different from that of other historians, but still it is so circumstantial, and his means of obtaining information were so direct, that it is hardly possible to suppose his statement to be inaccurate. It was agreed, he tells us, that Gerard de Camville should be left in peaceful possession of Lincoln, and, on the other part, that John should give up the castles of Nottingham and Tickhill to be placed in the hands of faithful subjects of the king, upon their taking an oath to deliver them to Richard if he returned safe from the Holy Land, and to John if the monarch should die beyond seas. The chancellor also bound himself to assist John in mounting the throne, in case of Richard's death.

How adverse the whole of these concessions were to the views and purposes of Richard, I have already shown in another part of this work; but it is probable that Longchamp, finding that the king's brother was supported by the Archbishop of Rouen and the great body of the nobility, only yielded to necessity. The violent temper of Longchamp, however, soon gave to John an opportunity of still further diminishing his power. Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, the natural son of Henry II., now sought to return to England, having obtained the pope's confirmation in his see. Instead of applying to the chancellor for permission to return, his application was made to John, who, eager to strengthen his own party, immediately acceded. Longchamp, however, who was not ignorant of what had taken place, gave way to an indiscreet burst of fury against the son of Rosamond, and caused the coasts to be guarded, in order to seize him upon his arrival. It does not appear

clearly that he gave any formal notice to Geoffrey not to enter the kingdom, although some authors have asserted that such was the case, in order to excuse the violent conduct of Longchamp. However that may be, Geoffrey, fortified by the permission of John, which he certainly ought to have conceived of no avail, sailed for Great Britain, landed at Dover, and proceeded to pray in a church, apparently that attached to the priory of the monks of Canterbury, established in the port. The constable of Dover Castle was, it would seem, an officer appointed by the chancellor, and devoted to his service; and, misunderstanding, we are assured, the orders he had received, he hastened to the church and dragged Geoffrey from the altar on which he had just laid his hand. It would seem, from all accounts, he used a great deal of violence, and carried his prisoner to the castle across the town, dressed in his pontifical robes. The rumour of this action spread far and wide immediately, and the minds of a pious people were greatly shocked at the fact of a sanctuary having been violated, and violent hands laid upon an archbishop. The occasion was too favourable to the views of John for him not to take immediate advantage of it; and he now prepared to act against Longchamp vigorously. Whether Longchamp had really commanded the arrest of Geoffrey, or whether his orders had been exceeded, might prove a question difficult to solve; but there can be no doubt that he soon became aware of the rashness of the steps which had been taken, and remedied them as soon as he could, by causing Geoffrey to be liberated. This concession, however, had no effect. John's troops were gathering round him fast; and the prince showed himself determined to get rid of the presence of the bishop by some means. Marching on to Reading, with a great number of friends and counsellors about him, John summoned the chancellor to meet him at Lodbridge, between Windsor and Reading, on the 5th of October. Longchamp, it would seem, hesitated; and at length, hearing that it was the intention of the prince to seize his person, he hastened to London, and threw himself into the Tower. He was followed immediately by John, who, entering the city by night, was received by the citizens with lanterns and torches, shouts and gratulations. Nothing was wanting, says the historian, but

his salutation as king. The mind of John, however, was not formed for bold and decided steps. He was brought to them occasionally by degrees; but he always hesitated before he engaged in any really great attempt. At that moment, perhaps, during his brother's absence, and with his own popularity at its height, he might have snatched the crown he coveted; but he wisely forbore, and contented himself with calling a great assembly of the nobles and prelates on the following day, to meet in the church of St. Paul, at which, we are assured, a number of the citizens of London were present. Here, for the first time, the Archbishop of Rouen publicly produced the letters of Richard, authorising him to act as joint-regent with Longchamp, and appointing four nobles as their counsellors. The authenticity of these letters has been greatly doubted; but no doubt seems to be entertained by any one that an assertion by which the production of the patent was accompanied, namely, that it conferred authority to depose the chancellor, was false. The assembly, however, gave credit to whatever was stated; and many persons came forward to accuse Longchamp of all sorts of oppression. Amongst these, one of the most violent seems to have been Hugh, Bishop of Coventry, once a servile flatterer of the chancellor. The consultation ended in a resolution to depose Longchamp, and to force him to surrender into the hands of Prince John all the castles and strong places which he held, with the exception of three.* Many other changes were proposed; and the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Winchester, and Coventry were sent to announce the resolution of the council to Longchamp, and to demand the great seal. The chancellor burst forth into a vehement invective, ending with the words, "The castles I will not surrender; the seal I will not resign."

The Tower had been already surrounded by the forces of John; and he now ordered the blockade to be made more

* There are considerable doubts as to which were the three castles retained, and indeed few of the contemporary writers are agreed on any of the minor points of these transactions. I have depended principally upon Richard of Devizes, who seems as fair as any in his appreciation of the character and motives of the persons whom he mentions. If he has some leaning towards Longchamp, which is indeed evident, his statements are easily corrected by those of Giraldus Cambrensis, Diceto, Benedict, and the famous letter of the Bishop of Coventry.

stringent, which prevented the introduction of all supplies. A night's painful thought, and a report of the state of the place, forced upon the mind of the chancellor the conviction that he could not hold out; and he agreed to meet John without the walls of London.* This meeting took place on the following day; and, after a great many charges had been brought against him by the Bishop of Coventry and others, Longchamp gave up the keys of the Tower of London, with three hostages for the surrender of the other castles, on October 10, A.D. 1191. We are distinctly assured that the Bishop of Coventry promised, in the name of John and the assembled council, that the deposed justiciary should be permitted to retain his bishopric and three castles, of which Dover was one; but with a reverse of fortune, friends had abandoned the unhappy chancellor, and persecution followed his steps as he fled from his enemies. Contrary to the general opinion, I am inclined to believe that the counsellors of John, instead of wishing to drive Longchamp out of England, sought to keep him within the limits of the kingdom, fearing his influence in Normandy. Certain it is, that every means was taken to intercept his flight. He was first stopped at Canterbury, habited as a monk; and then, contriving to escape, he made his way to the sea-side, near Dover, disguised as a woman. Being short of stature, his general appearance did not betray him; and further to conceal his sex and station, he obtained a parcel of linen and an ell-measure, endeavouring to pass himself for one of those female pedlers who at that time were frequent visitors of villages and small towns. A boat had been hired to receive him at Dover, and carry him to the coast of Flanders; but it was not ready at the moment of his arrival on the shore, and he seated himself on a rock to wait for its coming. There his appearance attracted the attention of a sailor, who, taking him for a woman of a light class, treated him with some rude familiarity, till he discovered his mistake; but then, seeing that he was evidently some fugitive endeavouring to escape, he generously forbore to betray him, and passed on his way. The sailor was almost immediately succeeded by some women, who, seeing the linen under his arm, began to bargain with him for some of it. Longchamp, however, fearing to speak,

* "In planitiem quæ est extra Londonias adorientem."

remained silent ; and as the ladies of a seaport town are not always the most placable, his hood was pulled off in a moment, his black beard exposed, and a multitude of people collected at the outcry raised by those who had made the discovery. By some his person was recognised, and in the midst of shouts, execrations, and insults, he was dragged away to Dover Castle, and placed in confinement.* Here he was suffered to linger for eight days, while John would seem to have hesitated as to how he should act ; but in the end, probably influenced by a fear of the papal authority, the prince ordered the prisoner to be liberated, and suffered him to retire first into Flanders and then into Normandy.

The Archbishop of Rouen took upon himself the office of chief justiciary. Benedict, Abbot of Peterborough, received the great seal ; but John, in reality, usurped the greater part of the power of which Longchamp had been deprived. If the purpose of this prince was solely to secure to himself the succession to the throne of England, in case of his brother's death childless, he made great progress towards that object in the very council which deposed Longchamp. That assembly took upon itself to perform an act which had hitherto been reserved exclusively to the reigning sovereign, and granted a charter to the citizens of London, with a reservation, indeed, in favour of the royal authority, but which could not be annulled without risk of a rebellion. That this concession was prompted by John, there can be no doubt ; and the reward was immediate, for the council did not break up without the citizens of London renewing their oath of fidelity to Richard and his heir, and binding themselves to receive John as the king's successor in case of his death without children, to the exclusion of Arthur, the heir presumptive. The nobles and prelates not only acquiesced in these arrangements, but, we are assured, did homage to John as Richard's successor ; and the possession of many strong places afforded the means of rendering this homage no vain ceremony. Thus far the Archbishop of Rouen had served the purposes of the prince ; but it is probable, as has been strongly suspected, that he sought to serve his own interests also, and that the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury was the object of his ambition. The destruction of Longchamp

* This proves that Dover Castle must have been taken from him.

had been necessary to remove an obstacle from his way ; for on the death of Archbishop Baldwin, at Acre, the chancellor had warmly espoused the cause of William, Archbishop of Montreal, one of the candidates for the see of Canterbury. The enmity, therefore, between Walter of Rouen and the Bishop of Ely was of a personal nature, which may account for the violent measures of the former, who, not content with the overthrow of his adversary, pursued him after his fall with unparalleled acrimony, seized his revenues, confiscated his goods, and excommunicated the object of his hatred in his own province of Normandy.

Longchamp was not behind the archbishop in angry and vindictive feeling ; and his own diocese having shown a strong adherence to the party of his enemies, he sought vengeance in the only way it could be obtained. His legantine power had terminated with the life of Clement III. ; but no sooner had he quitted the shores of England than he applied by letter, both to the king and the pope, for justice against those who had stripped him of authority. He gave of course his own view of the transactions which had lately taken place in England, and succeeded in convincing Celestine III., who had succeeded Clement, and was a pontiff of no mean ability, that he had suffered great wrong in his contest with John and the Archbishop of Rouen. Celestine warmly espoused his cause, and not only restored to him the legantine authority, but commanded the English bishops to excommunicate John and his confederates. Armed with his authority, Longchamp returned to England in April 1192, and at the same time pronounced an interdict against his diocese of Ely, which was as strictly carried out as the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by the Archbishop of Rouen had been executed in Normandy. In the latter, wherever he came the services of the church were suspended ; in the former, all rites were at an end ; baptisms, marriages, funerals, were not solemnised by the church ; and the bodies of the dead were cast unburied into the fields. The visit of the chancellor to the kingdom, which he had once ruled, was not suffered to be of long duration ; for John, or his council, acted with determination and vigour, condemning him to a fine of five hundred pounds of silver for having ventured to set his foot upon the English shores

again. At the same time, a multitude of influential persons wrote to Longchamp, beseeching him to quit the country if he would not be the cause of a civil war; and Eleanor, the queen dowager, interested herself successfully, so far to bring about an accommodation between him and the Archbishop of Rouen, that the latter revoked his excommunication and the former his interdict. Although the bishops of England could not refuse to perform the commands of the pope, yet it would appear that they neglected to do so; for I do not find any distinct proof that they ever pronounced sentence of excommunication against John and his adherents.

The efforts of the prince were now it would seem directed to a higher object, and his position altogether changed. The succession to the throne of England and the duchy of Normandy, after the death of Richard, was no longer sufficient for his ambition. He coveted immediate possession of a part or the whole, and directed all his efforts to effect his object. The natural expansion of desire, as a consequence of fruition, in the heart of an ambitious or avaricious man, would be sufficient to account for the alteration in the views of John; but he was stimulated by the intrigues and buoyed up by the promises of one equally ambitious with himself, but far more crafty, daring, and prudent. Philip Augustus, King of France, had set sail from Palestine on the 1st of August, 1191; and, after conferring with the pope, and perhaps with the emperor also, he pursued his way to Paris, where he arrived in safety towards the end of the year. We are informed, upon highly respectable authority, that in his conference with the supreme pontiff, Philip had brought a number of charges against the King of England, and had requested to be absolved from an oath which he had taken before quitting Palestine, to leave unmolested and even to protect all the dominions of the English king. The pope peremptorily refused to comply with his request, and probably disbelieved the accusations he brought against Richard. But Philip was not dismayed by this repulse; and, on his arrival in Paris, he received intelligence of the state of England, which encouraged him to proceed in his proposed course with all speed, lest he should lose a golden opportunity. Arms and men were collected from every quarter of the kingdom; his cities and castles were fortified and provisioned; and by

various seductive offers he endeavoured to lure John into an attempt to usurp at least the continental portion of Richard's dominions. The hopes he held out naturally elevated the weak and profligate prince to whom he addressed himself; and John showed the spirit of encroachment, even in England, so strongly as to awaken the suspicions of his mother Eleanor. The Archbishop of Rouen had now no private purposes to serve, and was probably, at this time, sincerely attached to Richard. He could not be blind to the designs of John, and probably regretted deeply that he had aided to raise him to a pitch of power from which it would be difficult to make him descend. This prelate, therefore, very early in the year 1192, was placed in direct opposition to him whom he had already served but too well; and he narrowly watched all the movements of John, in order to prevent him from wasting the royal treasures, to which he was inclined to help himself with a liberal hand, and to withhold from him the possession of those strong places, which he coveted as a means of overawing his opponents.

There can be no doubt that Philip Augustus offered to the weak brother of Richard, from whom he might hope to wrest them easily at an after period, the investiture of all the English king's dominions on the continent, upon certain concessions, which John was very willing to make; and the latter was even upon the point of sailing for Normandy in order to carry out his nefarious plans with Philip, when Eleanor and the Archbishop of Rouen, discovering his intentions, by prayers, entreaties, and threats, induced him to delay his voyage. The knavish prince, however, at the very time when his mother was using every endeavour to dissuade him from basely plundering his brother during his absence, contrived to get possession of the castles of Windsor and Wallingford, it is supposed by bribing the persons who held them for the crown.* The news of these transactions, or at least rumours thereof, undoubtedly reached Richard in the Holy Land, and although he might view with some suspicion the partial accounts brought to him from Longchamp by the prior of

* The statement of Richard of Devizes, whose chronicle ends before Richard's return, is perfectly clear and definite upon this point, though many authors place the fall of these castles into the hands of John after his brother had been captured; indeed, towards the close of 1193.

Hereford, yet he must have been prepared, by more authentic information, to find John struggling to obtain possession of his dominions, and France and Germany eager to intercept him on his return to his own kingdom.

John hesitated and feared; but Philip pursued eagerly his plans, and boldly demanded of the Seneschal of Normandy the surrender of Gisors and the Norman Vexin, and the restoration of his sister, according to the terms of the treaty of Messina. He even produced the treaty; but the seneschal, William Fitz-Ralph, who met him for the purpose of conference between Gisors and Trie, boldly refused to accede to any of his demands, alleging that, having received his authority personally from Richard, nothing but the king's own commands could justify him in giving up any part of that which was entrusted to his charge. Philip threatened loudly to invade Normandy, glad of the pretext which was afforded him. But the nobles of France and the sovereign pontiff judged that the refusal of the seneschal did not in any degree affect the oath which Philip and his peers had taken, not to make war upon Richard's territories during his absence in the Holy Land; and, while the Pope menaced the King of France with the thunders of the Church if he persevered, the barons refused to march on an expedition which was clearly a violation of the most solemn engagements.

Disappointed and enraged, Philip was forced to abandon the immediate prosecution of his design; but still he continued his intrigues with John; and still he persevered in preparation, in order to be prepared for the time when Richard's departure from Palestine might absolve him and his nobles from the strict letter of their oath. In the mean time, Richard's officers in his continental dominions took every means to strengthen themselves against the threatened invasion, while Eleanor and the Archbishop of Rouen watched narrowly all the movements of John, in order to guard against the treacherous intrigues which he was known to be carrying on against his brother.

While all was in this state of suspense, news arrived which alarmed the friends and rejoiced the enemies of Richard. Numerous bands of crusaders reached England and Normandy who had witnessed the embarkation of the king, or

had seen the preparations made for his departure. Some also reported that they had beheld the galley in which he had sailed from Acre vacant in the port of Brundisium. It could not be doubted that the heroic King of England had quitted Palestine, and landed somewhere on the coasts of Europe; but still Richard did not appear; and sinister rumours spread of the monarch's fate. Some reported that he was dead, others, that he had been made prisoner; and gradually the latter suspicion assumed form and consistency. Philip Augustus received direct information of Richard's captivity; and his proceedings left no further doubt of the fate of the King of England.

His troops had been kept in a constant state of preparation, and all the nobles of France on whom he could most rely had been warned to be ready at a moment's notice, to aid their king in a war from which conscientious scruples had alone deterred them. It took some time, however, for Philip to bring all his forces into the field; and we find from Rigordus, that it was not till the 12th of April, 1193, that the King of France commenced his march, although he must have been aware of the captivity of the English monarch some months before. With forces vastly superior to any which Richard's officers in Normandy could oppose to him, Philip obtained very rapid success. The strong town of Gisors was speedily taken, castle after castle fell before his arms, and the whole of the Norman Vexin was overrun. It is probable that his victorious career was only stayed by the usual distaste of feudal armies for long campaigns; but it is certain, that after carrying on the war for a few weeks with complete success, he returned to Paris, and made over to the Abbey of St. Denis the town of Neufchatel en Bray, which he had just wrested from the power of England.*

* The English historians in general confound this expedition of Philip with a subsequent invasion of Normandy, in February, 1194, which I shall have occasion to notice hereafter; but the French contemporary writers are all agreed as to the facts and dates.

BOOK XXI.

THE conduct of John, and the gradual development of his plans for obtaining possession of the throne of his brother, had alarmed in the highest degree many of those who, though they had assisted him in the expulsion of Longchamp, were sincerely attached to Richard. It is clear that he had, in the first instance, deceived not only the Archbishop of Rouen, who was not thoroughly acquainted with his character, but also his own mother, Eleanor, who ought to have known him better. The eagerness with which he grasped at power, however, speedily opened their eyes, and measures had been already taken to frustrate his schemes, when the rumour of Richard's captivity began to spread through Europe. One of the first steps of Eleanor to obstruct the ambitious course of her younger son, was to induce the prelates and nobles of England, with the Archbishop of York at their head,* to renew their oath of fidelity to Richard; and perceiving by this and various other indications, that he could hope for no support from his mother or the Archbishop of Rouen, John determined to have recourse to Longchamp, and see if he could not pacify and engage his former opponent. Longchamp, it would appear, was ready to use the weak and treacherous prince as a tool for the purpose of obtaining his recall from exile; but the obstacles to his return were so great that, after some fruitless attempts, he abandoned the design, and resolved to wait for the arrival of his royal master.

No sooner had the intelligence of Richard's captivity assumed a credible form, than the Archbishop of Rouen summoned the friends of the absent monarch to meet him at Oxford; and eager consultations ensued as to the course to be adopted. That Richard was a prisoner seemed now evident to every one, and it was generally understood that the place of his incarceration was Germany; but in what particular spot of that wide territory the monarch was confined, nobody had the least idea. In these circumstances,

* The see of Canterbury was vacant.

the first object was to ascertain the residence and condition of the king; and the Abbots of Broxley and Pont-Robert were despatched on a sort of pilgrimage to seek their sovereign in the dominions of the emperor.

Most urgent letters were also written to the Pope, representing the scandal to Christendom occasioned by the unjust detention of the English king; and Celestine was ultimately, though not without difficulty, moved by the appeal to more vigorous interposition than the court of Rome usually employed in cases where the authority and interests of the holy see were not implicated. He denounced in the strongest terms of reprobation the act which had been committed, threatened all those who had been concerned therein with the censures of the church, and even menaced the whole empire with interdict.

The indignation of the people of England was excited to the highest possible degree; and at first a cry for vengeance was universal in the land; but the invasion of Germany was soon seen to be impracticable, and all hope of releasing the king centred in negotiation. The feelings of a chivalrous nobility, however, were strongly moved in favour of their injured sovereign, and the event in which John had founded his expectations of obtaining the supreme power, proved the greatest stumbling-block in his course. He still held many strong places, it is true; he still had partisans and accomplices; but the general sense of the people was against him, and all the great authorities in the state were prepared to resist his efforts and frustrate his intrigues.

Although it would seem there were incessant communications between John and the King of France, yet the base prince was so well aware that many, even of his own supporters amongst the English subjects of his brother, were opposed to the intervention of Philip, that he dared not for a long time openly ally himself with that monarch. He lingered on in England, apparently vacillating in his purposes, endeavouring to gain partisans and advantages, and to persuade the people that Richard had died in prison.

In the mean time, events were taking place on the continent which forced him in the end to take more decided steps, and display himself in his true colours. The place of Richard's imprisonment was discovered: some say by a

letter, from the emperor to the King of France, falling accidentally into the hands of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely ; some say by the devoted exertions of the troubadour, Blondel de Nesle, the monarch's friend and fellow poet. The latter account is traditional, and has been very generally rejected, from the romantic nature of the tale ; nor can I trace it to any certain source ; but yet it is clear that this statement, in regard to the discovery of Richard's prison, was very generally believed at an early period in our history, and I cannot pass it over altogether without mention, although I warn the reader that the whole account may very likely be a fiction. No sooner, we are told, did Blondel de Nesle hear of the imprisonment of his royal master, than he set out to seek him, passing, as was very usual with troubadours, from castle to castle, throughout the land in which Richard was said to be confined. At length he arrived at a spot where, it was rumoured amongst the peasantry, a king was imprisoned ; and climbing up the rock, he seated himself beneath one of the windows of the castle, and began to sing a lay which he and Richard are said to have composed and often sung together. The song was immediately taken up by a voice within the castle, which Blondel instantly recognised as that of the king ; and thus was the place of Richard's incarceration made known.

The scene where this event is said to have taken place is wild and magnificent, and harmonises well with the romantic legend. Seated on a bold and abrupt hill, surrounded by an ocean of woody mountains, with no place larger than a mere hamlet, except the village of Anweiler, within several miles, the castle of Trifels was a place well chosen for the secret imprisonment of a captive king ; and whether the above tale be true or false, it would appear certain that the abbots sent to seek their sovereign in Germany must have received some accurate information in regard to Richard's abode, before they actually met with him ; for at this time they were advancing up the left bank of the Rhine, which would hardly have been the case unless they had been guided by rumour or intelligence. Correct information must also have reached the Bishop of Salisbury and the Chancellor Longchamp ; for both had visited the king before he was removed from Trifels to Hagenau, and Longchamp had apparently negotiated

with the emperor regarding a personal interview between him and the royal captive.*

The period of Richard's removal from Dürenstein to Trifels is not, I believe, exactly ascertained: at least, after very diligent search, I have not been able to discover any documents regarding it. One author, Weiss, declares that Richard was detained at Dürenstein more than a year; but this I think can hardly be accurate, for we know that negotiations for his liberation had commenced long before that period, and it does not appear that such was the case before he was actually in Trifels. When there, however, the general outcry which his imprisonment created throughout all Christendom seems to have alarmed the emperor, and to have induced him to seek excuses, either for detaining him, or putting him to ransom. Henry VI. accordingly called a diet, to meet at Haguenau, a fortified town on the Moselle, and summoned Richard to appear before it, to answer the charges which should be brought against him. The whole proceeding was as unjust and illegal as his imprisonment. Richard was not a vassal of the empire, and in no way answerable to the diet. He was an independent sovereign, a pilgrim, and an ally of the emperor, against whom, if he had committed any offence, the only just means of obtaining redress were war or negotiation. But all rights were ill defined in those days, except the right of superior strength; and Richard submitted with a good grace to an indignity which he could not avoid. He set out from Trifels then under a strong guard; but on his way to Haguenau he was suddenly encountered by the two abbots and their train. An instant recognition took place, and Richard received his faithful subjects with a joyful and well-satisfied air. The abbots, however, were moved to tears at the situation of their king, and Richard himself was greatly affected by sympathy, of which he had been long deprived. One of his first questions regarded the health and prosperity of William, King of Scotland, for whom he seemed to entertain the highest esteem; and having satisfied himself of the welfare of that prince, and his steady attachment, notwithstanding the solicitations of John, he listened, not without indignation, to the account of

* See Richard's letter, which few historians seem perfectly to have comprehended.

his brother's intrigues. But contempt swallowed up anger; and he ended the conversation by saying, with a smile, "My brother is not a man to win a crown, if resisted even by the weakest arm."

Passing on to Haguenau, Richard, if we are to believe the account in his own letter, was received with every mark of outward respect by the emperor and his court. But Henry, on the first day after his prisoner's arrival, endeavoured to extract from him promises and concessions to which Richard refused to consent; and on the following day a long list of charges was preferred against him before the diet, which he was called upon to answer. Richard submitted to make his defence before this incompetent tribunal, although we have reason to believe that he protested against its authority, and insinuated that he merely rebutted the charges brought against him from a due regard for his own fair fame. His defence, however, when it was made, was so clear, so eloquent, and so convincing, that the whole assembly by acclamation pronounced him innocent; many of the princes were moved to tears, and the ungenerous emperor himself rose from his throne, and embraced his royal captive.

The charges briefly were—1. That he had allied himself with Tancred, who had usurped the crown of Sicily, which fell of right to the emperor after the death of William the Good; 2. That he had unjustly invaded Cyprus, and dethroned the emperor of that island, a Christian prince, while he himself was sworn to bear arms against the infidels; 3. That in Palestine he had committed various breaches of the treaty between himself and the King of France, and by his dissensions with that prince had frustrated the objects of the Crusade; 4. That he had thrown down the banner of Austria and insulted the duke of that country at Acre; 5. That he was an accessory to the murder of Conrad of Montferrat; 6. And that he had concluded a truce with Saladin, and entered into intimate relations with the infidel.

These charges were in some degree cunningly devised, both to cast odium on the character of Richard and to afford a pretext, however feeble, for bringing his conduct under the notice of the diet. For the latter purpose, the claims of the emperor upon the crown of Sicily were put forward; and to justify in some degree the Duke of Austria, there was added

to the charge of insult at Acre, the accusation of having carried off the daughter of the Emperor of Cyprus, who was niece to the Duchess of Austria. But all serious accusations were satisfactorily and completely refuted, and it is only to be lamented that any friend or counsellor of the English king should have thought fit to bring forward a letter from the Prince of the Hachachins, which, I presume, nobody doubts to have been forged, exculpating Richard of all share in the death of Conrad. Richard required no such justification, and the imposture was a very bungling one.

This scene probably took place in April, 1193,* and Richard was afterwards treated with marked respect and consideration, but he was still detained a prisoner, and the emperor took base advantage of his eagerness to obtain liberation, for the purpose of extracting from him a large ransom.

The transactions which succeeded are exceedingly obscure. Richard is said to have surrendered the crown of England to the emperor, and to have received it again as a fief, doing homage for it, and agreeing to pay a tribute of five thousand pounds per annum. But in this statement I put no faith, although I believe that such an act may have been proposed to him, and may have been the very concession which called from him the indignant exclamation, "They shall rather take my life!" It is certain, however, that in return for that which Richard did concede, the emperor conferred upon him the visionary kingdom of Provence and Arles, and that

* Some confusion exists with regard to these dates. Several authors declare that the charges were brought against Richard at Worms; but it is clearly proved that his first interview with the emperor took place at Haguenau, and it seems beyond all doubt that his formal accusation was made in presence of the diet on the succeeding day. It is not improbable that, another diet having been held shortly afterwards at Worms, further discussions took place, and that the ransom was there augmented; for it is clear that the first demand was only for seventy thousand marks, and that an additional sum, out of which a part was to be paid to the Duke of Austria, was an afterthought, probably suggested by the facility with which Richard submitted to the first extortion. There can be no doubt that the emperor kept Richard in a state of constant uneasiness, by hinting at the various diets which were held previous to his liberation, that further concessions might be demanded. I have given the dates, however, according to the best of my judgment, after having examined carefully the various authorities. It is not impossible, even, that the Diet of Haguenau might be at once adjourned to Worms after Richard's defence; but his own letter, in which he speaks of his reception by the emperor, bears date "13 Cal Maii." I have, however, some doubt of the accuracy of the transcriber.

Richard did homage for that territory; an act which may have been confounded by the writers of the day with the subjection of the English crown to the empire.*

It was not without great difficulty that the negotiations for Richard's liberation were brought to a conclusion. The King of France interposed, and eagerly urged the emperor to detain his illustrious prisoner at least for some time longer, and fresh demands were made every day. At first, it would appear, the ransom demanded was seventy thousand marks of silver of the standard of Cologne, but it was afterwards augmented; and in consideration of the sum paid to the Duke of Austria, fifty thousand marks of the same standard were required in addition. For the payment of a part, however, it was agreed that hostages should be taken.† A treaty was concluded, in which these terms were embodied, together with the stipulations that the Emperor of Cyprus should be immediately set at liberty, that his daughter should be given up to the care of the Duchess of Austria, and that the son of the duke should receive in marriage Richard's niece, called the maid of Brittany. To cover the baseness of exacting a ransom from one whom he had no right to detain as a prisoner, the emperor affected to show great favour towards the King of England, and to give the treaty the air of an alliance rather than a robbery. He undertook to effect a reconciliation between the English monarch and the King of France, and promised the former assistance and defence in case of danger. The only real advantage purchased by Richard at so enormous a cost was the prospect of liberation as soon as the first portion of his ransom was paid, and the promise of a safe conduct to any port at which he chose to embark. The money, however, had first to be raised in England, and then it had to be brought to Germany at the charge and peril of the king, who was not to receive his liberty till one instalment was actually paid into the treasury of the emperor. On the other hand, Richard had one security against the bad faith of those who had already dealt so treacherously with him. The German princes present at

* There are other examples of such errors even in the great collection of public acts: at least in the older editions.

† Some have augmented the additional sum to sixty thousand, and others reduced it to forty.

the diet became guarantees for the execution of the treaty; and, as it proved, this precaution was not taken in vain; for the news of the negotiation created the greatest consternation in the minds of John and Philip, and they made strenuous exertions to induce the emperor to break his plighted word, and to prolong, if not perpetuate, the imprisonment of his royal captive. We have no minute account of the treatment which Richard received after the conclusion of the treaty. We know not even his place of residence, or whether he was again incarcerated in Trifels, before he was removed to Worms and Spires; but it is clear that his imprisonment was not very strict. The two friends who first reached him were, as I have shown, Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, and the warlike Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury. Both hurried eagerly to their captive master as soon as they were informed of his abode; and both had visited him before the interview at Hagenau.* The Bishop of Salisbury, indeed, is said to have been present when Richard made his famous defence;† and it is clear that Longchamp was with him immediately after Hubert, and was the bearer to England of the emperor's golden bull, confirming the treaty, and exhorting the English nobility to make strenuous exertions for the deliverance of their sovereign. This bull is probably one of the most impudent documents that ever issued from an imperial chancery; and in it the emperor speaks of the king, whom he was plundering, as his dear ally, and declares, as he well might, that he should consider everything done to effect his friend's liberation as if performed for himself.

Nevertheless, this tone was in some degree justified by the light in which Richard affected to regard the emperor. Either for the purpose of inducing his subjects to make great exertions, or from a knowledge that his words would be examined by the imperial eyes, before they were trans-

* I do not rely much upon the accounts given by Matthew Paris, Bromton, and others, who seem to have been very nearly ignorant of the geographical position of places in Germany, and to have supplied many particulars regarding Richard's imprisonment from the tales of travellers not much to be relied upon.

† Hubert had certainly left Richard before the king was brought to Hagenau, for Richard tells us so himself. Whether he ever rejoined him, I do not know; but very respectable historians assert that he was present at his monarch's defence, in face of Richard's own letter.

mitted to England, Richard declares, in his letter to Queen Eleanor, in announcing the conclusion of the treaty, that if he were at liberty and in his own kingdom, he would willingly give a larger sum than that stipulated as his ransom, in order to obtain the benefits of his alliance with the emperor. The messenger who bore this letter was preceded or followed by Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury, and by Longchamp, bearing the golden bull. The former came as one conscious of high deserts: he soon took a prominent part in the councils of the English nation, and was speedily translated to the see of Canterbury. Longchamp approached a country which had expelled him in a more timid and humble manner, although he was still styled by Richard his chancellor, and was spoken of by the monarch in the very highest terms of friendship. Proceeding with a very small train to St. Albans, he was there met by the queen-mother and her ministers; and, to guard against any misunderstanding, he at once declared that he did not come either as a legate, a justiciary, or a chancellor, but as a simple bishop, and as a messenger from his sovereign and theirs. No notice was taken of either the insolence or the hypocrisy of the emperor; but every one of the council applied himself at once to aid strenuously in raising the sum required for the king's ransom. A portion was assigned to the continental dominions of the crown; and the rest was levied in England much more rapidly than might have been anticipated, considering the impoverished state of the country, which had been drained of its wealth some four years before, to supply the king with means for his expedition to Palestine.

It has been remarked that the tax imposed for the purpose of raising the king's ransom was illegal, because no parliament was summoned to give it the sanction of the people. But this is a mistake, for to contribute to the sovereign's ransom from captivity was a purely feudal duty attached to every feof in the land. The re-partition of the burden, and the mode of its collection, might indeed have required the interference of a parliament, had anything like regularity then existed in our institutions; but every vassal was bound to the payment by the tenure on which he held his lands.

It would seem, however, that the council of Queen Eleanor, acting with hasty eagerness, considered principally how the

money could be soonest raised, rather than the just apportionment of the tax, and the method of guarding the people against fraud and oppression. A contribution, or *aid*,* of twenty shillings was demanded for every knight's fee. Various sums were required from boroughs, and from every person holding any part of the royal demesnes. The clergy were not exempt. The Cistercian monks and the order of Sempingham, who had always hitherto been very tenderly touched, were now called upon to contribute the wool of their flocks, and the churches and abbeys were required to lend their gold and silver plate. Fairly levied, these taxes must have produced a much larger sum than that which was absolutely needed; but the collectors are accused of severity, partiality, and malversation, and the money was not ready before the autumn of the year.

It would appear that the amount collected consisted only in part of coin, and that the principal portion was conveyed to Germany† in the form of bars and ingots. As soon as the sum was obtained, upon the payment of which the liberation of the king depended, the queen-mother, with the Archbishop of Rouen and a number of noblemen and clergymen, who agreed to give themselves as hostages for the payment of the final portion of the ransom, set out for Germany, taking the money with them, and leaving Hubert, now Archbishop of Canterbury, to govern the realm. But I must now turn to notice the proceedings of Philip and his base accomplice, John, which had well-nigh deprived the royal prisoner of all benefit from the exertions of his affectionate people.‡

* Doctor Henry, usually so accurate, calls this a scutage; but a scutage was a different sort of due, and was, in its origin, neither more nor less than a composition for military service.

† To show what obscurity and confusion reigns in this part of history, I need only state that almost every author differs from another as to how and where the ransom was paid. Some say that imperial commissioners were sent to London to receive it; some say that it was paid at Mayence; some, at Spire. It is clear that the absolute payment was made at Mayence.

‡ The plate demanded from the churches, it must be remarked, was only taken as a loan, Eleanor pledging her word that it should be restored, which promise was afterwards faithfully kept.—(Hoveden, 73.)

BOOK XXII.

THE successful irruption of Philip into Normandy, which I have already noticed, and by which he regained Gisors, and a number of other towns and castles, was stayed in progress by events of which we have no accurate record. Even his historiographer, Rigordus, does not mention the occasion of his sudden retreat from a territory in which his arms had been perfectly successful. It is said by some, that the menaces of the pope alarmed either himself or his barons; and others, confounding this expedition with a second, which took place shortly after, declare that he retreated in consequence of a check before Rouen. The latter statement is clearly erroneous; and it is more probable that the disinclination of feudal armies to long campaigns, brought this expedition to a close at the end of six weeks, than that Philip, who had no great reverence for Celestine, should, at his command, cease his incursions into the territories of his neighbour.

It is clear that neither Philip's ambition, nor his enmity towards Richard, was in the least degree decreased; and to the influence of these passions has been ascribed his inauspicious marriage, which took place this year, with Ingeburga, daughter of the King of Denmark, through whom, it has been supposed, he hoped to revive a claim upon the crown of England. I cannot imagine, however, that a prince of Philip's extraordinary acuteness, could be influenced by so visionary an expectation. Whatever was his motive in seeking the hand of Ingeburga, it is certain that, from some unknown cause, he was seized, on the very day after his marriage, with a degree of abhorrence for his young wife, which neither reason nor argument could overcome. He separated from her and divorced her immediately, and a great portion of his after life was troubled by the consequences of these acts. He still, however, pursued his schemes against Richard and his negotiations with John, urged, persuaded, attempted to bribe the emperor to detain his royal prisoner, and sought, it would seem, a personal interview with the treacherous brother of the King of England, in order to

concert more vigorous measures for the destruction of their mutual enemy. John, it would seem, hesitated and delayed, fearful of losing the support of many of his English adherents; but at length he took the determination of going into France, for the purpose of raising the Norman nobility against his brother, and of concluding a treaty with the French monarch.

The exact date of John's departure from England I cannot ascertain. By some it is placed early in the autumn 1193, but Hoveden fixes it after Christmas, and I am inclined to believe that in this he is correct, for we find, from other sources, that early in January, 1194, the weak and deceitful prince was busily negotiating with Philip in Paris.

His efforts to seduce the Norman barons from their allegiance were speedily disposed of. He met the seneschal of Normandy and the nobility of the province at Alençon, where they were concerting means for repelling a new invasion threatened by France, and for raising the remaining portion of Richard's ransom. It is said that they asked the assistance and advice of their monarch's brother. But John replied by a demand of their allegiance, upon which condition he offered to head them against the King of France. The proposal was met with scorn and contempt, and John hurried away to Paris to throw off the mask entirely, and ally himself by treaty to his brother's inveterate foe.* The

* The expression which Hoveden puts into John's mouth is a very ambiguous one. He says: "Et ero defensor vester *apud* regem Franciæ." His object was evidently to induce the Norman nobility to believe that he would co-operate with them in resisting the attempts of Philip upon Normandy; and he perhaps used the word *apud* instead of *contra*, to cover an intended deceit. I may as well remark here, that Hoveden is very confused in his chronological statements, and has probably, by this confusion, caused the number of errors which exist in later English historians, regarding the events of 1193 and 1194, although due examination of his own words would have given them the order, if not the exact dates, of those events. Thus he speaks of John's going to France after Christmas 1193, his transactions with the Norman nobility, his visit to Paris and negotiations with Philip, his return to England and attempt to snatch the crown on the rumour which he spread of Richard's death. He then goes back to relate Philip's first attack upon Normandy, the return of the Abbots of Boxley and Pont-Robert from Germany, and the treaty between Richard and the emperor—to both of which he affixes a wrong date—and the proceedings of the justiciary against John, and then returns to speak of the capture of Gisors, and the attempt of Philip upon Rouen, which he places in close conjunction. In regard to the latter event, his account is less unfavourable to the arms of Philip than that of the king's own historians.

terms were not long in debate, although the stipulations might not be easily carried into effect, and in the course of January, 1194, the treaty was signed at Paris. By this treaty, John pretended to cede to Philip all that part of the Duchy of Normandy which lay on the right bank of the Seine, from the mouth of the sea to the French territory, with the exception of the town of Rouen and an area of two leagues around it. Several other valuable lordships were added, a large portion of Touraine and the county of Angoulême in homage, with the castles of Loches, Chatillon, and Buzençois in perpetuity. Various advantages were promised to Philip's friends, and many stipulations were added to guard the contracting parties against a peace being concluded by either with Richard, without due care of the interests of the other. This document, which is preserved by Rigordus, who undoubtedly had it in his hands at the time, is dated in the month of January of 1194. It makes no mention, however, in any shape, of the proposed marriage of John with the sister of the French king, upon which some English historians have dwelt; and there can be no doubt that the stipulation was merely imaginary. No sooner was this treaty concluded than John returned to England, to maintain his party in that country, furnished by the French king with some bands of men, probably mercenaries, while Philip, early in February, proceeded to pour his troops into Normandy, took the towns of Evreux, Neubourg, and Vaudreuil, and laid siege to Rouen. There, however, he was destined to receive a check; for the gallant Earl of Leicester had by this time arrived in Europe; and throwing himself into Rouen, he not only defended the city successfully, but compelled Philip to raise the siege with precipitation, burning all his military engines—a fact which is not disguised by his own friend and historiographer.*

* It will be seen that, in the above account, I differ from almost every English historian of modern times. Most of them have confounded this second expedition with that in which Philip made himself master of Gisors, and all, I believe, have placed it before the end of 1193. It must be again remarked that great confusion has been created by the different periods at which different countries, different bodies of men, and even different individuals commenced the year, which is probably the cause of some of the errors which have been made in regard to these events. Rigordus, however, in his work, dedicated to Prince Louis, and laid up by Philip Augustus himself in the royal archives, is so precise

Philip and John, however, trusted as much to intrigue as to force of arms. The news of the treaty between Richard and the emperor had alarmed them greatly, and although John was poor, and the finances of Philip in a very deranged state, they saw the necessity of making great efforts and great sacrifices to prolong the captivity of a man whose liberation must frustrate the ambitious designs of both. Letters were written in haste to the emperor, with offers which they doubted not, from the well-known character of the man, would overpower all sense of honour and of shame. Although these offers are stated differently by different historians, it is clear that they must have been calculated to outweigh the advantages secured to the greedy emperor by the treaty with the King of England, and I am inclined to think that the alternative, as stated by Berington, is not wide of the truth. John and Philip offered, we are assured, either to give a sum of eighty thousand marks, John thirty, and Philip fifty thousand, if the emperor would detain his prisoner till the Michaelmas following; or to pay a thousand pounds of silver every month so long as Henry should keep Richard in captivity; or to give a hundred and fifty thousand marks on condition that the king should be delivered into their hands, or detained in close captivity for the space of one year.

The temptation proved very strong with the emperor, and he contrived means to delay the fulfilment of his engagements till the beginning of February, 1194, at which period a diet had been called to assemble at Mayence. Even then the monarch's liberation was very doubtful. Henry boldly acknowledged that offers of great advantage had been made to induce him to detain his royal prisoner; the messengers of Philip were introduced to the assembly; and the base and ungenerous letters were placed in Richard's own hand. The

in regard both to the treaty with John and the second expedition of Philip into Normandy, that I can have no hesitation in receiving his account of events which were taking place under his own eyes. He places the second expedition, in which Philip was foiled before Rouen, many months after the first, and in February, 1194, after the king's marriage and separation from Ingeburga. The Parisian chancery dated, at that time, the commencement of the year at Easter, and therefore January, 1194, has, in the treaty between John and Philip, the date of January, 1193, which has probably produced error in careless historians. I am inclined to think that John made two visits to Philip, and that there is some truth in the assertion, that he met him in Normandy during his first expedition; but the fact is very doubtful.

sensations of the captive prince, while his fate remained uncertain, must have been terrible; but there was honour in German princes, though not in the emperor. The roar of indignation with which the idea of detaining the King of England any longer was met by the diet, soon showed the ungenerous Henry that he would meet with no support; and the voices of Suabia, Louvain, and the Palatinate, pronounced a bold condemnation of his conduct, and taught him that his iniquity might meet armed resistance, even in the heart of the empire. Many of the princes and the clergy who were there present had guaranteed the execution of the treaty between Henry and Richard; and they now signified, in very plain and reproachful language, that its stipulations must be fulfilled.

Henry yielded to that which he could not resist; the first instalment of the ransom was received; the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Bath, and a number of other distinguished personages, were accepted as hostages; and on the 4th of February Richard was liberated, after a captivity of fifteen months. His mother and a number of his friends and faithful subjects were collected in Mayence to hail his emancipation; and the miserable emperor affected to share in the joy which was created by an act which had been forced upon him. Letters were written from the diet to Philip Augustus and Prince John, announcing Richard's liberation, and requiring the immediate restoration of all territories belonging to the King of England, of which they had possessed themselves during his absence. A hint was added, that in case of neglect or refusal, the German princes would assist in arms their royal ally; and it would seem that Richard endeavoured to engage, by promises of splendored recompence, a number of the German nobles in the wars which he saw were imminent.

Before the letters of the emperor reached the French court, Philip was made aware by his own messengers of the liberation of the King of England; and it was probably at this period, and not previously, as has been generally stated, that he wrote a laconic letter to John, announcing the fact in the following words: "Look to yourself. The Devil is unchained."

This intimation reached John in the midst of his last

efforts to usurp his brother's crown. On returning from France, he had recurred to the pitiful and hopeless trick of declaring that his brother was dead, and had demanded the fealty of the barons; but he was met everywhere with indignation and contempt; and energetic measures were instantly taken to strip him of all he had unjustly acquired, and to punish him for his treacherous rebellion. A great council was assembled; John of Mortagne was pronounced a rebel; all his possessions were declared to be forfeited to the crown; and the bishops launched an excommunication against him and his accomplices. The nobility arrayed themselves in arms in defence of their absent monarch's rights. The Bishop of Durham, and Geoffrey, Archbishop of York (the son of Fair Rosamond), were soon in the field in the north; the warlike Hubert, formerly Bishop of Salisbury, and now primate, raised and headed an army; and before Richard reached the shores of England, the rebellion of his brother was well-nigh suppressed. The only two places which held out in favour of John were Tickhill Castle, which was at the time besieged by the Bishop of Durham, and Nottingham Castle, which was blockaded by the Earl of Huntingdon.

Six weeks elapsed, after Richard had been liberated at Mayence, before he reached England. A part of that time was passed at the imperial court, a part at Cologne, where he spent some days with the archbishop, his friend and ally. Thence, crossing the country to Antwerp, where he remained a few days, he went on to the port of Swyne, at the mouth of the Scheld, where a number of English ships were waiting to receive him. There he embarked on board a galley,* and landed at Sandwich on the 20th of March, after an absence of more than four years.

With his usual eager rapidity, Richard hurried at once to London, where he was received with every demonstration of joy and satisfaction by the citizens, who not long before had shown such culpable subserviency to the will of John. The display of wealth, we are told, was so great as to excite the

* There is some doubt as to whether the name given to this vessel, by all the poets and romance writers who lived near the time of Richard, was really that of the ship or the commander. The name, *Trenchmer* (Cut the Sea), would seem applicable to the galley; but Hoveden, perhaps in error, calls the commander *Alanus de Trenchmer*.

wonder, and perhaps regret, of some of the imperial officers who attended the monarch back to his own dominions. This story, however, is very doubtful;* and it is clear that England had been very much impoverished to supply the warlike expenses and pay the ransom of the king. From London, where his delay must have been very short, Richard hastened towards Nottingham, turning aside only to offer up the banner of Cyprus at the shrine of St. Edmund. We find him under the walls of Nottingham Castle on the fifth day after his foot touched the shores of England. Tickhill had already capitulated, on full assurance of the king's arrival; but the garrison of Nottingham showed a disposition to resist to the last, notwithstanding the king's presence in the besieging army. A vigorous assault, however, carried on under Richard's own command, soon taught those who commanded in the place that a stronger hand was raised against them than any which they had yet encountered; and Nottingham surrendered three days after Richard had arrived beneath its walls.

The party of John was now at an end in England. All the strong places he had held were in the king's power, and he himself had fled to the continent. Two days after, a parliament or great council of the nation met in Nottingham, which continued to sit from the 30th of March to the 2nd of April.† On the second day of the council, the conduct of John came under consideration. His treason and rebellion were clear; Richard had himself seen the treacherous proposals made on his part to the Emperor of Germany; his troops had resisted the monarch in arms; and, had any other proof been wanting, the Archbishop of Canterbury had sufficient evidence to convict him in his hands, which had been obtained in a somewhat curious manner. Some time before the king's return, an intriguing monk of St. Edmund's, named Adam, who was an old acquaintance of Hubert's, arrived in London, and paid a visit to the primate. Hubert entertained his friend sumptuously, although he was known to be a partisan of Prince John. Either treachery, loquacity, or drunkenness, led the monk to communicate to the archbishop various particulars regarding the alliance between

* It is told by Hemingford, an author of very little authority.

† Some say that its deliberations were prolonged till the 3rd of April.

John and Philip, and to display the plans for raising a formidable insurrection in England, which were then advancing towards maturity. The primate suffered his guest to depart; but some communication took place with the lord mayor of London, which induced that magistrate to order the apprehension of the monk; and papers were found upon him which proved the detestable treason of his master, John. These were laid before the council previous to Richard's return; and at the parliament of Nottingham the prince was cited to appear within forty days to answer for his conduct, or in default to have sentence of confiscation definitively pronounced against him. On the third day of the council's sitting the principal object of its deliberations was decided. A war with France was imminent. Philip was already in the field and making progress; and Richard required supplies both of money and of men. A liberal grant of two shillings on every hide of land was awarded by the parliament to carry on the war; and on the fourth day proceedings were taken against the principal adherents of John, who were condemned to deprivation and confiscation, without much examination of facts which were notorious. The chief of those who suffered were Hugh Lord Bardolph, the Bishop of Coventry, and Gerard de Camville. To guard against any evil effects from the oath which John had induced the principal nobility to take, regarding the succession to the crown, that prince was solemnly declared incapable of succeeding on account of his recent treasons. In the same sitting, it was resolved that, in order to wipe away the stain of his recent imprisonment, Richard should be again crowned at Winchester, seven days after Easter; and the King of Scotland, William the Lion, who was present in this parliament, accompanied his friend and ally to take part in the ceremony.

The vindication of the law against traitors, the recognition of the monarch's rights, and the supply of his necessities, had all been provided for by this parliament with extraordinary celerity; but it seems to me that a modern author, who shows throughout his work a prejudiced hostility towards Richard, somewhat oversteps the bounds of fair interpretation, when he finds in the words of any contemporary historian "that Richard decided and enacted without any

reference to the opinion or votes of the meeting.”* That his wishes and his necessities should have great weight with his affectionate and admiring subjects, is not to be wondered at; and every one was doubtless glad to show his sympathy with his king, and to aid him in crushing those enemies who owed to his long and unjust imprisonment the power of injuring him. I can find nothing to blame in Richard’s conduct at Nottingham; but some of his subsequent acts are not so easily justified. His coronation took place on the day appointed; and William, King of Scotland, we are assured, bore the sword of state before him, as Earl of Huntingdon.

This is a curious fact, if it be a fact; for David, Earl of Huntingdon and Garioch, a gallant and distinguished nobleman nearly allied to the Scottish king, and who had done good service at the siege of Nottingham, was also in England at the time.

The same hand which had wielded the sword by the monarch’s side now placed the crown upon his brow; and the ceremony was performed by Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury; but Geoffrey, the king’s illegitimate brother, Archbishop of York, was not present. His absence is attributed to a ridiculous squabble with the primate, in regard to a cross; but I am inclined to believe that other and deeper motives withheld Geoffrey from the scene. Although in the conspiracy against the king Geoffrey had nobly displayed his fidelity, yet, in order to take possession of the archbishopric of York, he had returned to England contrary to the king’s express commands, if not to his own solemn oath; and we find that Richard so far resented this act, or so far yielded to the impulse of his own necessities, as to exact two thousand marks of silver from Geoffrey before he would permit him to enjoy his archbishopric in peace. Five thousand marks were wrung from the Bishop of Coventry to regain the monarch’s grace, and the Cistercian monks were pressed or persuaded to yield their whole crop of wool for one year to supply the king with money. All this was not sufficient, however; and, in the end, two most unjust and disgraceful acts were resorted to by Richard to replenish his finances.

I have shown, in a preceding part of this work, that, before he departed for Syria, Richard had alienated various portions

* Berington.

of the royal demesne. Whether he had any right to do so is more than doubtful, and the exact particulars of the transaction have not been clearly ascertained. All we know is, that he sold certain lands and lordships for very insignificant sums. He now resumed them, alleging as his only excuse that those who possessed them must have fully indemnified themselves, during his absence, for the sums they had paid. I find no clause of redemption alluded to, as was the case in the sale of Cyprus, otherwise I might conclude that, in this instance as in that, Richard had been blamed unjustly, and that the lands had only been granted as a *pignus*, or pledge, for the repayment of money borrowed. His excuse, if he ever made that which I have mentioned, would show that he knew the act to be unjust; but the holders submitted to the might which makes right; and the general people did not much murmur at one wrong which redressed another. Perhaps a still greater iniquity followed or accompanied this transaction, if we are to believe Hoveden. Upon the pretence that, in his expedition to the Holy Land, the seal had been lost, the impression of which had been fixed to many documents and charters, he forced the holders of those instruments to bring them for authentication under a new seal, exacting a fine upon the occasion.*

Such are the means which, we are informed, were adopted by Richard to recruit his treasury; and they bear too strong a resemblance to the methods he employed before he took his departure for the Holy Land to leave much doubt of the general accuracy of the statement. That he was generous even to profusion when he possessed money, is well known; but, that he was most unscrupulous as to the means of extorting it when he required it himself, admits of as little doubt.

The King of Scotland had shown himself a sincere and faithful friend, during the whole time of Richard's absence in Syria and his imprisonment in Germany. Not to have done what he might have done to injure an ally, might in those days be considered as a positive act of service and amity;

* This is a curious story. It is positively asserted that Richard caused these instruments to be resealed, on the pretence that the seal under which they had passed had been lost at Cyprus; and yet we know that the body of Malus-Catulus was cast on shore, and the seal found hanging round his neck. See page 275 of this volume.

and William probably thought that he had established a claim to recompence. He took advantage of his visit to Richard at Winchester to press for a grant of the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, alleging some claim or title thereto; and there can be no doubt that the extravagance of this request was in some degree diminished by the concessions which former kings of England had made to the Scottish monarchs. But Richard was in no condition, and probably had no inclination, to strip himself of such important territories; and he rejected the demand, though in the kindest and most considerate manner. At the same time, to show his esteem and gratitude towards William, he signed a charter awarding high honours to all Scottish kings who should visit England. They were to be met and escorted by the sheriff of every county through which they passed on their way to the court, were to be furnished abundantly with bread and wine, and allowed one hundred shillings per diem, then an immense sum, for the expenses of their journey.

While these events had been taking place, a large fleet and army had been collected at Portsmouth; and Richard's departure was hastened, we are told, by intelligence that Philip was besieging Verneuil. A curious tale is related of the effect produced upon him by this intelligence, in which I do not place confidence, although it is in perfect accordance with the manners and ideas of the day. It is said, that the news was brought to the king when he was sitting at dinner, and that giving way to a burst of anger, he swore that he would not turn his face till he had met his enemy. Such an oath, strictly kept, might have produced many very ludicrous and many disastrous inconveniences. Only one, however, is mentioned by the historian—Richard's face happened not to be towards the door; and to show his determination he caused the wall to be pulled down, and went out through the aperture. Certain it is, however, that he was forced to turn his face before he reached the shores of France. He joined his army at Portsmouth in the end of April, and set sail on the 2nd of May; but contrary winds and tempestuous weather drove him back to the port; and he did not reach Barfleur till the 12th of that month.*

* Richard might be irritated and accelerated in his movements by the know-

BOOK XXIII.

THE part of Richard's life which follows his return to Normandy has never yet been historically written. Vague, uncertain, inaccurate sketches, have been given, and some writers have contented themselves with declaring, that the events of this part of history were so unimportant, as to require a mere outline, and have then made the outline they afford obscure and inaccurate. I will endeavour to correct some errors, and to add some facts; and where I cannot bring light into the darkness, I will avoid misleading any one therein.*

In order to arrive at any certainty with regard to the facts of this part of Richard's history, the French historians must be diligently compared with the English and Norman writers, not without due consideration both of natural prejudice and national character. In the English will be found a somewhat slovenly disregard of dates, a culpable indifference to the minute facts which are often explanatory of great events, and a cold self-satisfaction in regard to the exploits of their king and their armies. In the French are met the usual vain-boasting, the usual attempt to conceal defeat and to exaggerate success, but more detail, and more chronological and geographical accuracy. In point of sincerity, Rigordus, whom I shall often have occasion to depend upon, stands an honourable exception. Though willing always to find excuses for a sovereign whom he loved and admired, he dared, on many occasions, to blame him to his face; and though, in regard to many of the events he describes, there can be no doubt that he received prejudiced accounts from others, he showed himself always willing to state the truth wherever it had been discovered. William the Breton, on

ledge that Philip was preparing again to invade his territories; but such an effect could hardly be produced by a knowledge of the siege of Verneuil, for the king of France did not enter Normandy till the 10th of May. The siege commenced on the following day, and Richard, after having been driven back by contrary winds, reached Barfleur on the 12th.

* Doubtless, in so doing, I may bring many an attack upon my head from those who have become imbued by prejudiced statements and one-sided views; but I am not to be deterred from displaying the truth by any reverence for error.

whose modest work M. Capefigue relies, writes with all the prejudices of a Frenchman, and all the extravagance of a poet; but his prose work is occasionally serviceable as explaining particulars which others neglected or disdained to mention. The English historians and their relative merit are already known to the reader.

To form a clear idea of the events which followed Richard's landing at Barfleur, we must examine, as far as possible, what was the relative position of the English possessions on the continent, and those of Philip Augustus, at that time. A great change had taken place since Richard sailed for Palestine. Philip had improved the opportunity of his early return; and John, to plunder a brother, had bribed an enemy. Let us refer more at large to the treaty which I have before briefly noticed, entered into between the Count of Mortagne and the King of France, in January, 1194; for, from the want of a due consideration of this document, and of a knowledge of the steps taken by Philip to secure the concessions it implied, innumerable mistakes have been made.

By that treaty, John ceded to the King of France the whole of that part of Normandy, and it was then very extensive, situated on the right bank of the Seine, from the mouth of the river to the existing frontier of France, with the exception of the town of Rouen, and a circuit of two leagues around it. This, together with Gisors and its territory, comprised the whole of that part of France now forming the department of the Seine inferieure, and, it would appear, something more on the side of Beauvais and Pontoise.

Moreover, on the left bank of the Seine, the whole territory was ceded to the east of the river Iton, including the towns of Chesnebrun, Vaudreuil, Verneuil, Evreux, and Ivry. In Touraine, an immense district was made over to the King of France, extending from the confluence of the Indre and the Loire, all along the Indre as far as that river flowed through the English territories, and comprising even two towns—Loches and Chatillon—on the left bank of the river. This cession included the towns of Tours, Amboise, Mont-richard, and Montbazou, with the whole territory on the left bank of the Loire and right of the Indre, to the French frontier. It will be remarked that the powerful community

of St. Martin of Tours seems to have taken part in the negotiation.

On the other bank of the Loire, the Count of Blois, by favour of the King of France, received at the hands of John all the territories possessed by England on the banks of the little river Loir (not to be confounded with Loire), including the towns and feofs of Troo, La Chatre, Vendôme, and Fretieval, which brought him again up to the French frontier.

Various friends of the King of France were bribed to co-operation, and we find mentioned amongst them Geoffrey, Count of Perche, the Count of Angoulême, the Count of St. Giles, and Philip de Giene.

The clear understanding of these concessions, and of the treachery displayed both by John himself and by several vassals or allies of the English king, is necessary to the comprehension, not only of subsequent events, but of Richard's conduct in transactions for which he has been unjustly blamed.

No sooner was the treaty signed than the King of France proceeded, as I have shown elsewhere, to take forcible possession of the territories ceded to him. *He seized the towns of Evreux, Neubourg, and Vaudreuil; and his armies, it would appear, overran the whole of that part of Normandy which lay on the right bank of the Seine, taking whatever towns they could, and even going rather further than the treaty justified, by attacking Rouen itself. After Philip's defeat before that place, he retired for some time to refresh his troops, and then laid siege, as I have shown, to the town of Verneuil, passing the frontiers of Normandy on the 10th of May. While carrying on these operations himself, on the northern and western frontiers of Normandy, it is clear that his officers proceeded to occupy the ceded lands in Touraine, although we find none of the details either in the French or English historians. It is probable that the monks of St. Martin of Tours, who were very powerful in that district, aided the commanders sent by the King of France; and it is evident that Philip had obtained possession of the whole territory between the Indre and Loire early in 1194. At the same time, the Count of Blois was not inactive, and a considerable portion, at least, of the lands ceded by John fell into his hands.

Thus Richard, on his arrival in Normandy, found his continental dominions greatly curtailed in extent by the treachery of his brother and the activity of his enemy. He was at the head of a powerful army, however, for he had obtained, at the parliament of Nottingham, a vote by which one-third part of the whole feudal forces of the kingdom was placed at his disposal; and he now hurried forward with his usual rapidity to meet his adversary in the field, and relieve his officers besieged in Verneuil.

Soon after landing in France,—but whether at Barfleur or at Rouen would seem doubtful,—he was visited by, and reconciled to, his brother John. The treacherous prince came without any other safe-conduct than the mediation of Eleanor and a knowledge of Richard's generous nature. Generally clement and merciful to the unresisting, although he might know their penitence to be feigned and their submission compulsory, Richard's was not a nature to refuse forgiveness to his brother, however he might despise his character and reprobate his conduct. John cast himself at his feet, with tears and apparent repentance, and Richard raised him up, saying, we are assured, with generous sincerity, "Would that I could as soon forget your offences, as you will forget my forgiveness." He wisely refrained, however, from restoring to him those large possessions, which might have proved a means and an inducement to evil.*

Richard marched straight towards Verneuil at the head of his troops; but he found that the besieging army had retreated in haste at his approach, leaving a quantity of their baggage behind them. The cause of this sudden flight is differently stated by different authors; and the French historians of modern times have of course chosen the statement which is most favourable to their king and most calumnious of an English prince, although the exercise of even a slight degree of unprejudiced criticism would have shown them not

* A fearful charge is made against John in regard to his conduct at this time by William the Breton, one of the historians of Philip Augustus. It is reported by him in his poem of the *Philipide* as well as in his *Life of the King*. Many French historians have greatly depended upon the *Philipide*, especially Monsieur de Capestre, though a more extravagant tissue of bombast, equally destitute of truth and reason, is hardly to be met with. One English author, Mr. Berington, has copied from some of the French historians who relied upon this work.

only that the authority on which they relied was not to be trusted, but that their account could not be accurate. It is generally stated by the writers of the English party that Philip raised the siege of Verneuil in alarm on the approach of Richard. The narrative of the sincere Rigordus, historiographer to Philip Augustus, differs but little from this account, though he explains the conduct of his royal master. He says that Philip, hearing that the town of Evreux, of which he had made himself master earlier in the year, had been retaken by the Normans, the garrison made prisoners, and some of them decapitated, left part of his army under the walls of Verneuil, while he marched to recover and to punish Evreux. During his absence the rest of the army under Verneuil lost courage and decamped, leaving their stores at the mercy of the enemy. This is a very probable account, and I entertain no doubt of its accuracy. William the Breton, however, tells another story, which is not only untrue, but impossible. He says that after the capture of Evreux, in the month of February, Philip gave that town to John, who, with the view of reconciling himself to his brother, invited all Philip's knights in the place to a grand banquet, where he caused them to be massacred by English troops which he had secretly introduced into the place. Now in the month of February, when Evreux was first taken by Philip, John was in England. The siege of Verneuil began on the 11th of May. It had lasted three weeks when Philip received the news of the fall of Evreux. Richard landed at Barfleur on the 12th of May, and was joined either there on the 13th, or at Rouen on the 16th, by his brother John. The distance between Evreux and Verneuil I have myself passed in one easy day's journey; but supposing that in those times it required two days to carry the news of the fall of Evreux to Philip, it is clear that place could not have been retaken by the English till a fortnight after John had been reconciled to his brother. These simple dates completely overthrow the whole statement of William the Breton, and leave the falsehood apparent.*

* Nevertheless, with these facts before their eyes, together with the plain, straightforward account of Rigordus, their own countryman, and Philip's official historiographer, the French historians, and Anquetil especially, perpetuate the falsehood without shame. In a little history, lately published, of the life of

We are not aware of Richard's exact line of march from Rouen to Verneuil ; but it is probable that he took the route by Conches, and sent a detachment to assist the inhabitants of Evreux, always attached to his rule, in recovering possession of the city. Some excesses, doubtless, were committed, as Rigordus states, which might give occasion to the vengeance afterwards mentioned.

We are assured that Richard advanced upon Verneuil by L'Aigle, and that he was at that place when the besieging army decamped. This was certainly not in his direct line of march, but obstacles might interpose, in any other course, of which we are not now aware. Richard entered Verneuil, revictualled the place, and gave orders for the repair of the walls. He had then to consider in what direction he would turn his arms, for hostile operations were going on at all points. He was decided, perhaps, by some such considerations as the following : Normandy was full of gallant men, all well attached to the English crown, and the seneschal, the Archbishop of Rouen, and the Earl of Leicester, were there to direct the political and military affairs of the province. On the side of Touraine, however, the French had made great progress ; the whole of the country between the Indre and Loire had been occupied early in the year, and even the strong town of Loches had been taken and garrisoned by French troops. A body of Richard's forces, under the command of the Prince of Navarre, the brother of his queen, had invested Loches some time before ; but no progress, it would seem, had been made in the siege. Serious dangers also menaced on the side of Vendôme, and Freteval, it would appear, had already fallen.

In these circumstances, Richard determined to hurry in

Richard, these events are confused with others, the author apparently not aware that Evreux had been taken by Philip in the beginning of the year, and afterwards retaken by the English. His account of Philip's movements is, that he retired from Verneuil at the approach of Richard, then advanced upon Rouen, took a castle at no great distance from that city, drew off his forces towards Evreux, made the Earl of Leicester prisoner, and then took, plundered, and burned the town of Evreux. I find no trace at this time of any of the events mentioned between Philip's departure from Verneuil and the burning of Evreux. All the French contemporary historians are agreed that, from Verneuil, Philip marched straight to Evreux and burned that city, obtaining entrance probably by the citadel, which still contained a French garrison.

the first instance to Touraine ; and marching on with the utmost rapidity, he arrived under the walls of Loches, which was almost immediately taken. He next proceeded to Tours, where he punished with great severity the monks of St. Martin, for their treasonable intrigues with the King of France ; and he then prepared to march on, to recover the territories which had fallen to the Count of Blois under the treaty between John and Philip.

In the mean time, the King of France seems to have crossed the Seine, and to have committed great ravages in the part of Normandy lying on the right bank of that river. Rigordus acknowledges that he plundered the churches and monasteries, drove out the monks and priests, and seized their revenues. The excuse made for these acts is, that they were done in retaliation for Richard's conduct towards the monks of St. Martin of Tours ; but the King of England suffered a far greater misfortune in this quarter than the evils inflicted upon the churches of the duchy. His gallant friend, the Earl of Leicester, trusting himself in the open country, insufficiently accompanied, if not totally alone as some authors assert, was surprised by a party of Philip's cavalry and made prisoner.* He was immediately sent to Estampes, where he remained long in confinement, Philip demanding an exorbitant ransom, which was raised with much difficulty. Some small places of no great importance fell into the hands of the French during this expedition ; but the King of France was soon called away to another part of the land, by the news of Richard's progress in the south. The small town of Beaumont had been already taken ; and the movements of the English king threatened the Orleanois itself. Philip in consequence marched with all speed to the aid of his relation, the Count of Blois ; but he was never fortunate in the presence of Richard. His army was attacked on the 5th of July, between Freteval and Blois, by the Norman and English forces, led by Richard in person. The charge was so impetuous, that the French troops were at

* The Earl of Leicester was taken on the 15th of June, very soon after the destruction of Evreux. The bombastic William the Breton would fain give the capture of Leicester the air of a battle, and a defeat of the English troops ; but it is quite certain that the earl, if not totally alone, was only accompanied by a few common attendants.

once thrown into disorder and rout; Philip himself escaped with difficulty from the field; and the whole of his baggage fell into the hands of the King of England. A great quantity of valuable articles was taken; and, amongst the rest of the spoil, were the whole papers of the French chancery. It would seem that documents of so much value were not likely to be carried about in the train of an army; but such it would appear was the custom in France, where many questions of feudal right required constant reference to charters and other documents. Although frequent truces took place afterwards, Richard would never restore the papers he had seized.*

Eager to make his great enemy prisoner, the King of England pursued the fugitives for some way into France. Philip only escaped, the English historians say, by hiding himself in a church; but it is clear that the defeat of Freteval showed the French monarch that peace was more necessary to himself than to his adversary; and a truce, which had often been spoken of during the course of the operations I have detailed, was soon after concluded for the space of one year. The war was resumed as soon as this suspension of arms came to a close; and the only effect of the treaty, which it may be necessary to mention, was the restoration of Philip's sister to her brother, after having been long unjustly detained by two kings, and infamously ill used by Henry II. Notwithstanding the rumour of her intrigue with that prince, many noblemen were found in France willing to ally themselves to the royal family by espousing the princess; and Philip bestowed her hand upon the Count of Ponthieu in the course of the year 1195.

The period of tranquillity which succeeded, was employed by Richard, it would seem, in preparing for war. He contrived various means of raising money, and engaged some large bodies of those mercenary troops called Brabançons, or Brabanters, in his service, under the command of a famous leader named Marchader, or Merchades. The previous his-

* A recent history of Richard places in Normandy this action, which in reality occurred between Freteval and Blois, at a small place called Belfou. Such inattention to geography frequently causes very serious mistakes. The battle was fought upon the frontiers of Touraine, far distant from the nearest point of Normandy.

tory of this personage is little known: he starts out into prominence during the latter years of Richard's reign, and was thenceforward his constant companion and friend. All means were employed also to raise the military spirit of the people, and tournaments, which had always been opposed by the clergy as cruel and dangerous sports, and against which there were several decrees actually existing, received the formal sanction of the king in a letter addressed to Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury. Five places in England were specially appointed for the celebration of these military festivals, under certain regulations, and in the presence of certain officers to be named by the justiciary. No foreigner was to be permitted to enter the lists; and a fee was demanded from every combatant, amounting to twenty marks for an earl, ten for a baron, four for a knight possessing land, and two for a landless knight. These were large sums in that day; but nevertheless we find from Jocelin of Brakelond that the English nobility eagerly seized the permission, and even endeavoured to hold tournaments in other places besides those appointed. The payment of these fees might tend in some small degree to increase the revenue of the crown; but it is not to be supposed that the persons inclined to seek these amusements were so numerous as to induce Richard to grant the permission solely for the purpose of raising money, as has been insinuated. Other means, however, were, as I have said, employed to fill a treasury which by this time must have been nearly empty; and we find that commissioners were sent into every county of England, to inquire what debts were due to the crown, and cause them to be paid immediately.

Although the war with France during the early part of 1194 had been a great expense, and its probable renewal, as soon as the truce was at an end, induced the English monarch to seek supplies by all means, yet there were other strong motives for raising money without delay. A part of the king's ransom was not yet paid; and it would appear from the transactions which followed, that the Emperor Henry had retained the first instalment, leaving the debt to the Duke of Austria to be paid from the remainder.* That

* I know not how this is to be reconciled with the statement made by many

prince, as greedy and even more brutal than his imperial ally, became impatient at the delay, and sent Baldwin of Bethune, who had remained in Germany as one of the hostages, to demand from Richard the fulfilment of his unexecuted engagements, with a threat of taking vengeance upon the hostages if the stipulations of the treaty were not immediately performed. The sum which still remained to be paid was considerable; and Richard had also promised to give his niece, the Princess of Brittany, in marriage to the son of the duke, and yield the captive Princess of Cyprus to the care of the Duchess of Austria.

Although doubtless very unwilling to enrich his base adversary, and not less to marry a niece to his son, Richard felt the perilous position of his friends, knew the unscrupulous harshness of the man, and exerted himself to the utmost to raise the money. This was effected before the end of 1194; and Baldwin of Bethune set out for Vienna, taking with him the ransom and the two princesses.

An event had happened, however, before the arrival of Baldwin in the Austrian dominions, which rendered his mission unnecessary. At a great festival held on the 26th of December (in celebration, according to some accounts, of the anniversary of Richard's scandalous detention) a tournament was given in Austria, and by a fall of his horse, the duke's leg was broken just above the ankle. Mortification ensued, and it soon became apparent to that prince and his attendants that his life was drawing to a close. All hopes of the body being over, the duke's next consideration was for his soul; and the bishops and priests by whom he was surrounded in his last moments, persuaded him to resign all claim to that which he could not hope to receive or to retain on earth, in order to secure the prospect of better things in heaven. He ordered the hostages to be set at liberty and the ransom to be remitted; and, with this scanty death-bed atonement for an act which covers his memory with infamy, he died in peace. His son showed some disposition to resist the execution of his father's will; but the prelates refused

very credible historians, that the inner walls of Vienna were built with the money paid as Richard's ransom. At all events, it is certain that, at the time of the duke's death, a considerable portion of the ransom still remained unpaid.

to allow the body to be buried till the act of atonement was completed; and the manumission of the hostages having taken place, Baldwin returned to his lord with the ransom and the princesses.

I have shown that when Richard departed from the Holy Land, his Queen Berengaria, his sister, Joan, Queen of Sicily, and the Princess of Cyprus had taken their departure with the fleet some days before he set sail himself. But little is known of the further history of Berengaria, except from the traditional account, not much to be relied upon, of the metrical chronicler Langtoft, and other historians not contemporary. We know, however, that the fleet in which she sailed was beaten about for some time in the Mediterranean by storms, and that the three royal ladies at length landed in Italy. There, it would appear, they received intelligence of Richard's captivity, and fearing to proceed, lest they should fall into the hands of some of his enemies, they remained for several months in that country, and in the end embarked at Genoa for Marseilles. How long they stayed at the latter port we do not know; but they then directed their steps across the territory of the Count of St. Giles, whom Joan afterwards married, towards Poitou, and, it is probable, joined Richard at Tours, before the battle of Freteval. Nothing further is known, with any degree of certainty, regarding the history of Berengaria, except that she had some cause to complain of the inconstancy of Richard, and that if she murmured at all, it was without violence and in quiet secrecy.

The year 1194 was distinguished by some tremendous storms, in which the lightning set fire to villages, churches, and towns; and hail, of enormous size and unusual shape, desolated the fields, destroying the vines, and mixing the corn in the fields with the earth out of which it grew. The early part of 1195 was also tempestuous and inauspicious for the husbandman; and both in France and England famine and pestilence began to show themselves, though we may be permitted to doubt whether the former was not greatly aggravated by desolating wars, carried on in the cruel and destructive spirit of feudal times. Rapine and waste followed the armies wherever they came. No property was respected; and excesses were committed, against which,

it would appear, the Church protested loudly, and of which the two kings were themselves ashamed.*

In July, 1195, the truce of a year between the two kings came to an end; but the facts attending the resumption of hostilities are, as usual, very differently stated by the French and English historians. The former declare that the King of England was the first to take up arms, although it had been understood that the truce had been concluded only with a view to the arrangement of a secure peace. The English, on the contrary, relate the matter as follows; and their statement is in some degree confirmed by an author more to be depended upon in regard to facts which he suffers inadvertently to appear, than respecting those points where his assertions are positive. As soon as the truce was at an end, Philip entered that part of Normandy in which he had garrisons, and, judging that it would be impossible for him to retain the strong places he held, proceeded rapidly to demolish the fortifications, so as to render the country open at any time to his future incursions. Richard immediately put himself at the head of some troops, and marched to encounter his wily enemy, whom he came up with in the immediate vicinity of Vaudreuil. The politic King of France, however, engaged Richard in negotiations for peace, giving secret directions to the garrison in Vaudreuil to undermine the walls of the castle, while he artfully engaged the attention of the English monarch. During a conference with Philip himself, or some of his envoys, Richard was startled by a tremendous noise, and looking towards Vaudreuil, perceived the walls of the fortress lying in ruins. Enraged at the deceit which had been practised, the English monarch called his troops to arms, but the French had been prepared for the result, and retreated rapidly, before the English and Norman army was ready to attack them. William the Breton, as I have said, in some degree confirms this account, saying that Richard was an eye-witness of the dismantling of Vaudreuil, and was violently enraged.†

* By an after treaty, Richard and Philip mutually agreed, in any future hostilities, to spare the lands of the Church.

† The same author, before relating this event, mentions, without date, an attack made upon Vaudreuil by John, together with the Earl of Arundel, some of the citizens of Rouen, and a large body of Norman troops. Philip, he says,

The war was then resumed with great acrimony; but it would appear that the forces of Richard were not sufficient to defend the great line of frontier exposed to attack, and the result of the campaign was not very favourable to his arms. It is difficult to fix the exact dates to the events which ensued, to tell the movements of the armies in their proper succession, or to say at which of the different skirmishes and sieges either of the kings was present in person; but we know enough to see that the balance of success turned in favour of Philip. Every English historian, I believe, has passed over the warlike events which took place at this time, with the assertion that they were unimportant, but, in reality, more influenced by the difficulty of discovering the facts, than by their insignificance, for in truth they tend to show us the motives upon which Richard consented to a peace, at the end of this year, far less advantageous than might have been expected under other circumstances. I shall therefore endeavour to give a general notion of the successes and reverses on both sides, although I cannot accurately define the dates or the details.

The castle of Arques, in the immediate vicinity of the town of Dieppe, had fallen into the hands of Philip; and shortly after Vaudreuil had been dismantled, we find this strong place attacked by some of the forces of England. Philip immediately marched to its relief with a superior army, and succeeded in raising the siege. He then advanced against Dieppe, at that time a place of great importance, and one of the principal ports upon the coast of Normandy. The particulars of the siege we do not know, but it fell before the arms of the French king, who plundered and destroyed it, burned the vessels in the port, and carried away a number of the inhabitants as prisoners. Richard, it would appear, as soon as he heard of the attack upon Dieppe, advanced to the aid of the town. It had fallen before his arrival, however, and he only succeeded in coming up with the rear guard of Philip's army, which he attacked and nearly cut to pieces.

In the mean time, Merchades, at the head of his Brabançois,

who was then at Bourges, in Berri, marched secretly against the besieging forces, attacked them suddenly, and dispersed them with great loss. Rigordus confirms this account, and states that Philip surprised John at break of day.

had entered Berri, and taken the town of Issoudun, which had been ceded to France by Henry II. many years before.* A short truce was immediately after concluded by the two kings, neither the motives nor the particulars of which are very clear. It is probable, however, that the disastrous intelligence of the great successes obtained by the Moors in Spain against Alphonso IX., and the exhortations of the priests, made both Philip and Richard ashamed of wars in which Christian was armed against Christian, while the infidel was making progress in Europe itself. The truce was agreed upon till the subsequent November, perhaps to give time for negotiation; but as soon as it terminated, Philip marched to recover Issoudun, and Richard hastened to meet him and support Merchades. The two armies came in presence between Issoudun and Charost on the Arnon, and a general battle seemed inevitable. But it would appear that the Church once more interfered, and found means to touch the heart of at least one of the two monarchs who had been lately engaged together in a war against the infidels. With generous confidence, Richard, with a very few attendants, visited the camp of the French king, and proposed a treaty of peace.† His offer was readily accepted, and some of the terms, it would seem, were agreed upon; but the more definite details were referred to a conference, to be held in the month of January following, when the Bishops and Arch-

* Some great mistakes have been made with regard to these events in a modern history of Richard I., at least if we are to read Issendon as Issoudun, which I suppose must be the case, as there is no place of the name of Issendon in France. It is there stated, in regard to this campaign, "The first incursion was made by the French, who ravaged Normandy as far as Dieppe, burned that town, with all the shipping in the harbour, took the town of Issendon, and laid siege to its fortress." The fact was really the exact reverse. While Philip was attacking Dieppe, Merchades, as I have stated, took both town and fortress of Issoudun and garrisoned it for the King of England. At least so says Rigordus, and so says William the Breton also, neither of whom were likely to attribute to the English an imaginary success, or to their own monarch an imaginary reverse. Issoudun is in Berri, not in Normandy, and the whole course of events is thus disfigured.

† Such is the account given by the French historians themselves; but they go on to give particulars of Richard's interview with Philip, which are not confirmed by the treaty itself, as recorded in their own pages. They endeavour to make it appear that Richard came as a vassal to submit to his sovereign lord; but in the treaty Richard not only speaks as a king, but sometimes does so towards Philip in a very imperative tone.

bishops of France and Normandy were to be present and act as mediators.

The assembly took place on the 15th of January, 1196, between Vaudreuil and Chateau Gaillon, and terms were agreed upon, which have been preserved. By this treaty, Richard gave up the long-disputed Vexin, and a line was to be drawn straight from the river Eure to the Seine, passing half-way between Gaillon and Vaudreuil, all to the east of which was to belong to Philip, while the portion on the west remained with Richard. This was a very important concession on the part of the King of England; for the territory yielded comprised Vernon on the Seine, Pacy on the Eure, together with Chateau Gaillon, Ivry, and Nonancourt. But on the other hand, concessions equally extensive were made by Philip, some of which were of the greatest importance. Besides all which he had lately acquired on the right bank of the Seine, and everything which had been taken from Richard during his captivity in Germany, with the exception of the lands specified above, an immense tract of valuable country bordering on Touraine was ceded by Philip, comprising nearly one-half of Berri. The whole country along the left bank of the river Cher, from Chatillon sur Cher till the river entered Touraine, with a number of important towns, comprising Chatillon itself, were given up to Richard, and the line was run along from the Cher to the Creuse by Chateau Meillant and La Chatre. This was a most valuable acquisition, as the frontier of Touraine, on the left bank of the Loire, had been exposed to many incursions from the side of Berri and the Bourbonnais, and a defensible frontier was now assigned by the course of the Cher. The only person who could henceforward annoy Richard was the Count of St. Giles; and while Richard promised not to make war upon him, if he would submit their disputes to the arbitration of the King of France, Philip engaged not to give aid and assistance to that nobleman if he refused to accept the terms of the treaty.

These are the principal and most important points which were settled at the conferences in January, 1196. Other clauses are added, providing for the interests of several adherents of the two kings; and some stipulations are made in

regard to the Andelys, where, it would appear, Richard had already begun to lay the foundations of the famous Chateau Gaillard, and which it was now agreed should not be fortified. The two kings pledged themselves to restore what they had taken from the churches in the territories of each other, and not to permit the same excesses to be committed any more. It might appear that such a treaty afforded fair hopes of a long period of tranquillity ; but the result was far different, and only a few months elapsed ere it was violated. Some English historians have insinuated that the treaty was never signed ; but it would certainly appear that in this they are in error. It is true that it remained effective for even a shorter time than treaties, the most fragile of all things, usually endure. But the French writers universally cry out against its infraction, and take so much pains to show that Richard was the aggressor, as to lead to a conviction that the treaty did actually receive signature, and to a suspicion that the terms were violated by Philip.

The causes which again brought on hostilities are very obscure. It would seem certain that the Emperor Henry, who had by this time made himself master of Sicily, upon the death of Tancred the usurper, and had infamously and cruelly treated the young son of that prince, sought to extend his empire on the side of France, and negotiated with Richard for aid and co-operation in the proposed war. A certain portion of the king's ransom was still unpaid, and Henry showed an unusual degree of liberality in regard to that sum ; but as it was very trifling, I cannot conceive that Richard suffered the existence of this debt to influence his conduct towards Philip. It is certain, indeed, that Longchamp, who still remained Richard's chancellor, though not permitted to exercise his office in England, was sent into Germany to negotiate with the emperor or his ministers. He crossed the territories of Philip, who affected great indignation at his mission, and endeavoured to intercept him ; but the bishop contrived to elude his vigilance, and passed in safety. Many details are given by one or two contemporary and several subsequent historians as to the transactions which took place at this time between Richard and the emperor ; but I must decline to admit such statements into

these pages, as I am by no means satisfied of their accuracy.*

Almost simultaneously the towns of Vierzon, in Berri, and Aumale on the Bresle, in northern Normandy, were attacked by Richard and Philip. The lord of the former place, it would appear, possessed territories on the left bank of the Cher, now under the domination of Richard, and on account of some real or imaginary cause of offence, the King of England passed the river and seized upon Vierzon itself. Though this deed was clearly done in a private quarrel, it was perhaps sufficient to justify Philip in looking upon the treaty as infringed, and he at once marched and laid siege to Aumale, which, however, resisted all his efforts for nearly two months. His army, it would appear, was very large; and the threatening aspect of Brittany at this time prevented the King of England from bringing the whole of his forces to the relief of Aumale. He endeavoured to effect a diversion, however, by attacking Nonancourt, of which place he made himself master, and then attempted with inferior forces to compel Philip to raise the siege which he had undertaken. In this the English monarch was unsuccessful; and at length, after a practicable breach had been effected in the walls, the garrison of Aumale obtained an honourable capitulation, marching out with arms, goods, and horses. The town of Nonancourt was also recovered by the King of France, the very small garrison which Richard had left in the place† being unable to resist the overwhelming force brought against it.

Serious embarrassments, at this time, affected the position of the King of England. Secret intrigues were daily going on between his enemy and his own vassals; and the nobility of Brittany, always turbulent, showed the strongest determination to resist the authority of the English king. The son of his brother Geoffrey, now Duke of Brittany, a boy of infinite promise, had remained under the care of his mother, Constance, although she had entered into a second marriage

* It would seem, indeed, very improbable that Henry should at this time entertain a great scheme for the absolute extinction of the French monarchy, when he was actively employed in preparations, upon a vast scale, for a new German crusade. The two enterprises were incompatible.

† Fifteen knights, eighteen cross-bowmen, and a few other soldiers.

some time before. Richard had always shown the strongest affection for his nephew, had designated him as the heir of the English throne, and had taken every means to ensure his succession; but the intrigues of the King of France with the Breton nobles now induced the English monarch to determine upon assuming the formal guardianship of his nephew, to which he was entitled, both as Arthur's nearest male relation, and as his feudal lord. Constance affected to imagine that it was Richard's intention to separate her from her son, though it would appear that such was not at all the case; and, with rash haste, she threw herself into the arms of those nobles who were notoriously in the interest of the French monarch. Open resistance to the king's authority was now proclaimed; Arthur was removed as far as possible from the power of Richard; and the aid of the King of France was demanded, which was willingly promised, but never efficiently given. In these circumstances, Richard acted with decision, but yet with great forbearance. Merchades, at the head of his Brabançois, was sent into Brittany; and after several bloody skirmishes, which occupied a considerable portion of 1197, the insurrection was suppressed, and Brittany acknowledged the sway of the King of England. Arthur was allowed to remain under the care of Constance; but she did not escape without a severe rebuke. We do not find that any severities were exercised in the revolted parts of the province; but it is probable that the presence of Merchades and his Brabançois was punishment enough.

Hitherto the King of England had resisted the whole power of France, without any allies to give him aid, while Philip endeavoured to raise Richard's own vassals against him, and in many instances had been but too successful in corrupting those who ought to have drawn the sword for their sovereign. Amongst these, we find the Count of Perigueux, the Viscount of Touraine, the Lord of Gournay, and several others. It now became evident to Richard that he must employ the same means in opposition to the King of France which Philip had employed so successfully against himself; and a series of negotiations were set on foot, which soon changed the whole aspect of the contest. One of the first to be gained was the Count of St. Giles and Toulouse, upon whom Richard bestowed the hand of his sister, the

widowed Queen of Sicily. The next was Baldwin, the young Count of Flanders, who had very lately done homage to Philip for the portion of territory which that monarch had been pleased to leave him. There can be no doubt, however, that after the death of his predecessor in the Holy Land, the French king had stripped the Count of Flanders of as much as he could venture to take with any degree of prudence. An immense number of the nobility of the Low Countries joined Baldwin in a treaty of alliance with the English king; and the Count of Dammartin and Boulogne signed a separate treaty nearly in the same terms. Henry Count of Champagne and King of Jerusalem had lately died in the Holy Land, and had been succeeded in the French county by his brother, Thibalt, likewise a nephew of the King of England, and this prince was easily induced to look favourably upon the cause of his gallant uncle. The war was thus recommenced in circumstances much more favourable to the English monarch. Baldwin of Flanders advanced into Artois at the head of a powerful army, and laid siege to Arras; the Count of Boulogne, accompanied by a large force of Brabançons, ravaged the French territory in another quarter; and when Philip advanced to the relief of Arras, Baldwin skilfully retreated before him, drawing him on farther and farther from his resources, with the Count of Boulogne on his left flank, and Richard in his rear. The bridges were broken down behind the French army as it advanced; and the king at length became so entangled, that he was glad to purchase permission to retreat by the resignation of all that part of Flanders of which he had unjustly possessed himself.

It would seem that Richard was included in the truce which followed; and we do not find any further hostilities mentioned till the year 1198. No sooner had the suspension of arms terminated, than all parties appeared in the field. But Richard now found the advantage of allying policy to valour; and, had he lived to profit by this experience, the fate of all Europe might have been changed.

The Kings of England, in regard to their continental territories, were in a much less favourable position than the Kings of France. So long as Normandy had regarded the neighbouring island as a mere acquisition annexed to itself

—so long as the royal crown of England could be looked upon as a dependency of the Norman coronet, the people of the duchy, however turbulent as vassals, were proud of their victorious princes, and ready to support them against any monarch of that Frankish race from which their ancestors had wrested the fair lands they held on either bank of the Seine. But when Normandy became a detached province of England, when its dukes learned to regard their hereditary dukedom as subsidiary to their acquired crown, the case was very much changed. The ties between the Norman vassals and an adjacent kingdom with an ill-defined frontier, gained strength; their attachment to their duke, who, though king of another country, owned a superior lord as to Normandy, was diminished; and an approximation to France took place, which was every day encouraged by the cunning policy of Philip Augustus. To him and to his court the vassals of the Duke of Normandy could always appeal, in case of dispute with their immediate sovereign; and while the hard rule with which he governed in his own direct dependencies was not felt or known by the population of the duchy, he was always ready to sympathise if he could not relieve, to encourage if he could not protect, in any instance of discontent or hardship. If such was the case with Normandy, it was still worse with the other continental possessions of the English crown. Touraine, Maine, Anjou, Poitou, Aquitaine, had not even the satisfaction of a glorious memory to compensate for the sense of dependence. They had fallen by marriage or succession into the state of provinces of England. They were neither Norman nor English, but essentially French, in habit, feeling, character, and antecedents. Neither the Saxon, nor the Northman, nor the mingled race had aught in common with them; and there were natural links of affection between them and a king of their own race, who, as far as they were concerned, was the sovereign of their sovereign.

It was only by taking advantage of the discontent, by exciting the hopes, by flattering the ambition, or by engaging the interests of Philip's immediate vassals, that the English monarch could counterbalance the influence which a king of France possessed in the continental dominions of the house of Plantagenet; and Richard, in the last few years of his life,

became aware that such was the case, and acted upon the conviction. Philip's rule was hard, beyond all doubt, but even if it had not been so, there would always have been found causes of discontent between sovereign and feudatory, which could be improved by one who might be supposed to sympathise with Philip's barons as a fellow vassal, while he could afford them countenance and support as an independent monarch. Thus in 1197 and 1198 we find an immense number of French noblemen more or less directly favouring the English king. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, again marched into France in the latter year, and approached St. Omer. But Philip did not venture to withdraw so far from the scene of other events which were preparing on the side of Normandy.

Richard was already in the field; and the war commenced with some skirmishes and incursions of no great importance. Under the last treaty, Philip, as I have shown, had obtained possession of Vernon on the Seine; and from that place he advanced some way into Normandy. He was speedily encountered by Richard, and forced to retire with loss upon Vernon, whence he was again driven back upon Mantes. Richard then crossed the Seine, and advanced with rapid marches upon Gisors, after having taken a fortress named Courcelles. The danger of so important a town as Gisors called Philip at once to its relief. Richard had apparently crossed the Seine at or near Bonnières; and the French monarch passed by the bridge at Mantes. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Gisors, in an open plain on the banks of the Epte. The French assert that Philip's forces were greatly inferior to those of his adversary; but it appears certain that the two armies were as nearly equal as possible; and the terms in which Philip's historians bemoan his defeat, show that the battle was in reality a decisive engagement, and not a mere skirmish, as they would represent it. The combat was long and obstinate; but it was at length decided by a fierce and impetuous charge, headed by the King of England in person. Here again his gigantic strength, his skill in arms, and his headlong courage, carried all before them. Knight after knight fell by his hand; confusion and disarray spread through the French ranks; and Philip, with his whole forces, except those who remained dead or pri-

soners on the field, fled in confusion towards a bridge over the Epte. So great was the throng upon the frail structure at the moment when the king was passing, that it gave way beneath the weight, and Philip, with an immense number of nobles, knights, and soldiers, were precipitated into the stream. Thirty men of distinction are said to have perished in the water; but the king was rescued by the gallant devotion of some of his attendants. The fall of the bridge probably saved the king from capture; but it cut off all means of escape from many of his followers; and a hundred and fifty men of knightly rank were made prisoners.* How many of the inferior soldiers were taken we do not know; but the English historians say an immense number, and Rigordus, after naming four distinguished officers of the king, Alain de Roussy, Matthew de Marle, William de Melot the Younger, and Philip de Nanteuil, as amongst the captives, adds, "and many others whose names I cannot write, for my soul is too much moved by the remembrance."

Richard immediately sent an account of his victory to London, and then pursued his course into France, sweeping the country of its wealth and produce, and penetrating even into the Beauvoisis.

"So elated was he with this success," says William the Breton, "that he already began to portion out Paris amongst his knights." His advanced guard, under Merchades, approached the gates of Beauvais, and made a demonstration of investing that city; but the warlike bishop, he who had fought in the Holy Land, and who had ventured, in spite of all opposition, to celebrate the indecent marriage of Conrad of Montferrat with Isabella, now issued forth with William de Melot the Elder, and gave battle to the Brabançons. Fortune, however, which had often favoured the bishop, now deserted him; and he and his companions, with many other knights and gentlemen, were made prisoners and carried before Richard.

All the noble captives, except the prelate, were treated with courtesy and kindness by the king. The bishop he cast

* The French acknowledge the capture of ninety noblemen and knights. They attribute the defeat of their king, not to the prowess of Richard, but to the fact of Philip having some time before permitted the Jews to return to Paris, for which they say this disaster was a special punishment.

into prison, and loaded with chains. This severity was in some degree excusable, for the homicidal priest had been Richard's most persevering and unscrupulous enemy. He had opposed, traduced, and thwarted him in the Holy Land ; and, after his capture in Austria, had laboured more diligently than any one to keep him in prison. Richard even declared that he had been loaded with more chains than an ass could carry, entirely at the instigation of the Bishop of Beauvais ; and it is generally supposed that to his counsels might be attributed the persevering enmity which his relation, Philip, had displayed towards the King of England. His ransom was fixed at a very large sum ; and the bishop, highly indignant, applied to his brother prelates to interfere. None of them, however, would undertake to advocate his cause, except one bound to him by the ties of blood. He then addressed himself to the Pope, endeavouring to stir up the pontiff's wrath against Richard, for his severity to a priest. The sovereign pontiff replied, that all he could do, in the circumstances in which the bishop had been taken, was to seek Richard's lenity for the captive, as a matter of favour ; for though it was considered not only justifiable, but praiseworthy, in a prelate to take arms for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre, it was looked upon as a crime to use those arms against his fellow-Christians. Nor did the Pope fail to perform his promise ; but in his letter of intercession he unfortunately called the prisoner "*his son*, the Bishop of Beauvais." Richard immediately sent back the hauberk in which the prelate had been taken, begging to know if his holiness recognised *his son's coat*. This rejoinder stopped all further application. The pontiff replied that the garment was certainly not that of a son of the Church, but of a son of Mars ; and the bishop remained in prison till after Richard's death.

Philip in the mean time had neither ventured to follow his adversary into Beauvoisis, nor to march to the relief of St. Omer, which surrendered to the Count of Flanders ; but gathering together the remains of his army, and raising fresh troops, he entered Normandy, and penetrated as far as Neubourg and Beaumont le Roger. In this incursion he met with little or no opposition ; but suddenly, and upon motives

which puzzled his historians greatly, he disbanded his troops and left the field open to the enemy.

In the life of Philip there are many passages which must probably ever remain dark and unexplained; and it would seem he was subject to rare but strongly-marked fits of hypochondriac melancholy, which chequered his usually clear, decided, and politic course with occasional inconsistency. It has been supposed that his conduct, on this occasion, proceeded from a knowledge that Peter of Capua, Cardinal of St. Mary, was on his way to France, as legate from Innocent III. (who had lately succeeded Celestine in the papal chair), in the hope of bringing about a lasting peace. But this affords no just explanation of the monarch's sudden abandonment of resistance; for Philip was too politic not to know that in negotiation more is granted to strength than to intercession.

The cardinal arrived in France about Christmas, and immediately proceeded to perform his pious office. Negotiations were commenced under his auspices, conferences were held; and at length, after many difficulties, a truce for five years was signed by the two kings. Richard met Philip in amity; for his resentments were rarely long-lived; but Philip did not forgive so easily, and he is said to have secretly informed the King of England that his brother John had once more been plotting against him. He even, we are assured, displayed documents which convinced Richard that such was the case; and the English monarch's conduct was in consequence so completely changed towards the Count of Montagne, that John demanded an explanation. It was given frankly; and the prince appealed to the whole course of his actions, since his reconciliation with his brother, for the refutation of the calumny. He did more; he gave Philip publicly the lie, and sent to dare him to prove his assertion in the lists. But the King of France returned no answer, and Richard, convinced, perhaps without sufficient proof, that his brother had been traduced, extended his favour to him more frankly than ever.

I have thought fit, in tracing the course of Richard's military movements, after his deliverance from captivity, to abstain, as far as possible, from introducing any of those

isolated events and collateral circumstances, which more or less affected his history, but were not actually connected with his operations in the field. Some of the principal of these events I propose to mention in the succeeding book, before the scene closes upon the hero of the twelfth century.

BOOK XXIV.

SINCE his return from the Holy Land, Richard had only spent a few weeks in England ; for the state of his continental possessions required his constant attention and personal superintendence, and in the justiciary, the Archbishop of Canterbury, he had a friend and minister to whom he could entrust with perfect security both the general government of the country and any military operations which circumstances might render necessary. Before the conclusion of the truce of five years, brought about by the mediation of the Cardinal of St. Mary's, a number of events had occurred in Europe which altered Richard's position towards several other princes.

Pope Celestine, his constant friend, had died in 1198, at the age of ninety, after seeing the commencement of a new crusade, undertaken by an immense body of German princes. Both Richard and Philip had been urged to join in this enterprise ; but Philip had no inclination to visit Palestine again ; and the King of England, whatever were his inclinations, was deterred by a remembrance of the disastrous events which had occurred in his European possessions during his first expedition to Syria.

The Emperor Henry assumed the cross ; but before he set out, he paused to take possession of another kingdom, and to oppress a woman and a child. Tancred, King of Sicily, an usurper it is true, but one who had gained the affection and commanded the respect of his people,* died in the year

* I cannot concur in the high eulogium pronounced upon this prince by Gibbon upon interested and partisan authority. For individual facts we are obliged, in the absence of public documents, to depend upon contemporary chroniclers ; but in the estimation of character, the general course and result of each man's

1194, leaving a widow, and a son in extreme youth. The heiress of the direct Norman line of Roger, the conqueror of Sicily, was Constantia, the wife of the Emperor Henry. Her claims had been frequently put forward, but without success, during the reign of Tancred; and the moment that prince had ceased to exist, the emperor hastened to seize upon the now defenceless kingdom.

Without a leader, the Normans of Italy and Sicily made little, if any, resistance. Henry's march from Capua to Palermo was a triumphal procession; and the widow and child of the last Norman prince fell into the hands of the conqueror. The emperor basely misused his advantage, deprived the unfortunate boy of sight and manhood, and then prepared to expiate offences disgraceful to a knight, a Christian, and a man, by prosecuting the war against the infidels of Syria.

The terms of the treaty between Saladin and Richard had been faithfully observed by Henry of Champagne, notwithstanding the death of Saladin, and the civil broils of his successors. The Pope and the princes of Christian Europe, however, did not consider themselves bound by the engagements of the King of England. A new crusade was preached by Celestine, which was successful, at least in Germany. Four bishops, three dukes, and an immense number of the inferior nobility, took the cross in 1196; and a large body of crusaders set out under the command of the Archbishop of Mayence. Henry himself proposed to follow immediately, and the success which attended the arms of those who preceded him probably confirmed his resolution. From Messina he wrote to Richard, entreating him to lend his aid in the good work, which now, for the first time, promised complete success; but Richard declined the dangerous allurements, and the progress of Henry himself was stopped by the hand of death. He was taken ill at Messina, some say, without any good authority, from the effects of poison administered by his wife Constantia. He died, it would appear, with decent remorse for the many iniquitous acts he had committed during his life. On his death-bed, moved by

actions are surer guides than the pens of flatterers or satirists. Judging from these, we cannot look upon Tancred as a very wise, a very just, or a very honest prince.

the remonstrances of the bishops and the threats of the Church, he sent, we are assured, to offer the King of England compensation, either in money or land, for the ransom he had exacted from him; but before the message could be delivered, the rapid progress of his disease carried the emperor to the grave. His son Frederick succeeded to the throne of Sicily, though destined to a higher fate at an after period; and his brother Philip came forward as a candidate for the imperial crown.

A formidable competitor, however, appeared in the person of Otho of Saxony, nephew of the King of England; and the Pope espoused the cause of the latter, while Richard eagerly endeavoured to promote his election. It does not enter into the scope of this work to notice the intrigues and the struggles that followed. Suffice it to say that, notwithstanding a treaty entered into by Philip with the King of France, Otho obtained and preserved the imperial crown. A party of the electors indeed still adhered to Philip; but the sanction of the Church confirmed the dignity of Otho.

Richard was invited to the election, as nominal King of Provence; but he declined the empty honour, although greatly interested in his nephew's success. Indeed, Otho and Henry of Champagne had ever been objects of his especial tenderness and care; and after seeing the latter elected King of Jerusalem, he strove by every means to compensate the former for the evils which fortune had inflicted upon him. Soon after his return to Europe, he had endeavoured to negotiate a marriage between the Saxon prince and the eldest daughter of William, King of Scotland, in the hope that, as the monarch had at that time no son, the Scottish crown might descend upon the head of his nephew. Frustrated in this expectation by the opposition of William's nobility, Richard granted large estates in Poitou to Otho, who retained them till his elevation to the imperial dignity; and Richard had the satisfaction of seeing him placed at the highest point of success. The election of Otho, his near relationship to Richard, and his devoted affection for that monarch, the favour which the Holy See extended to both, and the indignation with which the Pope regarded Philip's divorce of Ingeburga and his marriage with Agnes de

Meranie, might have produced, had the life of Richard been prolonged, events which would have changed the whole political state of Europe.

The papal wrath in the case of Philip was not altogether unjustifiable. He had sought and obtained, as I have shown, the hand of the Princess of Denmark, and on the very day after his marriage, had, from some unexplained caprice, cast her off, and, by the authority of several of his bishops, divorced her on the most frivolous pretences.* The Holy See had always maintained that marriage, which it regarded as a sacrament, could only be dissolved by the supreme head of the Church; and it was immediately notified to the King of France that the pontiff would not recognise the authority assumed by the French prelates. Philip, setting at nought this warning, proceeded without the papal sanction to solemnise his marriage with the beautiful, amiable, and unfortunate Agnes de Meranie, offering an insult to the spiritual authority of the Pope which was never forgiven.

Richard himself had been always a favourite son of the Church; for it would seem that his character had been understood and appreciated. The corruption, avarice, and ambition of the clergy and the monks, a man so clear-sighted could not fail to see; and his sarcastic spirit never hesitated to lash the vices he despised; but where the Church raised her voice or employed her power in spiritual affairs, or even went a little beyond the limits of her just sphere to promote objects harmonious with her character and her office, few persons were more obedient or reverential than the King of England. No one, in short, made a broader distinction between the vices of the clergy and the authority of the Church; and Richard listened on many occasions with calmness and favour to the reproof of ecclesiastics whom he believed to be sincere, when his fiery spirit would have been moved to the highest pitch of fury by the remonstrance of any of the laity. Thus, when visited in Normandy by Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, who had refused in any degree to aid in

* It has been stated lately that Philip added to this ill-treatment the insult of sending Ingeburga back to Denmark at once. This is a very great error. She remained for many years in France by her own desire, as is especially pointed out by contemporary historians who had the best means of knowing the facts, and was afterwards nominally reunited to Philip.

levying the taxes in his diocese, the king heard his expostulations, both in regard to the burdens he was laying on his people, and to some acts of licentiousness of which he was accused, with perfect patience and good-will.

From the exactions which were rendered necessary by the wars in which he was plunged, the clergy were not exempt; but we find from the account of Jocelin of Brakelond, that the dignitaries of the Church and the superiors of the monastic foundations often endeavoured to avoid rendering those feudal services or contributing that pecuniary aid to which they were bound by the tenure of their estates. But Richard was usually just towards the clergy and observant of his promises, which is shown by the restitution, after he regained his freedom, of all the plate and jewels which had been borrowed from churches and monasteries to supply funds for his ransom. Nevertheless the clergy often murmured at having to bear their share in the public burdens of the country; and indeed the taxation was exceedingly onerous. It is impossible to ascertain exactly what amount of money was levied in England after Richard's return from Syria; but we are assured that the Archbishop Justiciary alone raised, at different times, the sum of one million one hundred thousand marks—an enormous sum, considering the value of money in those days and the scantiness of the population.

If the clergy murmured and raised their voice in expostulation with the king, others showed their sense of the grievance in a more violent manner. The burden pressed but very little upon the lower classes, except by impoverishing the higher; but famine and pestilence aggravated their miseries, and a starving population is always ready to take arms in the hope of bettering a condition which can hardly be worse. Two excessively tempestuous seasons, as I have shown before, had destroyed the crops, both in England and France, and multitudes of persons in both countries died of hunger. An epidemic disease followed; and though we do not know how many victims it carried off, it was clearly very fatal, and so general, in England at least, that the number who remained in health were not sufficient to attend upon the sick, and many perished without common assistance or the consolations of religion.

Still the wars continued, and still the supplies had to be wrung from the people. The nobles bore their share of the evil without resistance and with very little complaint. War was their trade, and had its advantages. The clergy cried out, but in general submitted. The towns debated, and paid. These were the parties principally interested; but there suddenly arose one whom nature had qualified in various ways for a demagogue, and who sought distinction by assuming the character of a defender of the people. His name was William Fitz Osbert, evidently a Norman patronymic; but yet, it would appear, he professed to be descended from the old Saxon race, and, whether true or false, such an assumption was sure to obtain for him the favour of the lower classes, principally composed of Saxons. This man was a citizen of London, and after having in vain endeavoured to induce the corporation to resist the king's exactions, he appealed to the mob, few of whom were in reality called upon to pay anything. He harangued them in inflammatory language, and soon raised a tumult, which disturbed the peace and threatened the safety of the city. He was known to be a man of loose life and ruined fortunes, but he combined many qualities which attract the multitude. He was learned, eloquent, and daring, with that touch of eccentricity, natural or affected, which gains the wonder and admiration of the vulgar. He affected the dress, as well as the manners, of the ancient Saxons, and in direct opposition to the customs of the Norman nobility, suffered the hair on his face to grow untrimmed, by which he acquired the name of Longbeard. The richer and more peaceful citizens went in terror of their lives, and many excesses were committed, which, for some time, no power was found to stop. The justiciary summoned the offender to his presence, and Longbeard did not refuse to appear; but he went attended by so fierce and numerous a crowd, that he was suffered to depart unpunished, and almost unquestioned. Hubert, though bold and resolute, was now becoming somewhat inactive and infirm. In age, however, policy often supplies the place of vigour, and the archbishop suffered the turbulence of Fitz Osbert to go on, till it became intolerable to the better class of citizens, and tedious to his own followers. Unopposed, the flame of enthusiasm grew faint;

the mobs which attended the demagogue dwindled away ; and, choosing his moment well, apparently in concert with the well-disposed members of the corporation, the justiciary sent a body of armed men to apprehend the disturber of the public peace. Fitz Osbert defended himself with bravery and resolution, but he found few supporters in the hour of danger, and, after having killed one of his assailants, he made his escape into the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, with his mistress and several of his accomplices, hoping there to find sanctuary. In this expectation, however, he was deceived. The soldiers, and the citizens who joined them, attacked the church, which was fired, either by accident or design ; and, obliged to descend from the tower, in which he had taken refuge, the demagogue was dragged out, tried, condemned, and executed. Several of the ringleaders of the mobs which he had gathered together were put to death with him ; but the people revered his memory as of a saint and a martyr, and it was pretended that miracles were worked by pieces of the gallows on which he had been hanged at Tyburn.

The firm and vigorous rule of the Archbishop of Canterbury maintained general peace in the land for several years ; but he was troubled by disputes with Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, the king's illegitimate brother, regarding ecclesiastical rights and privileges, which had no permanent effect, and do not require further notice here. Hubert felt sensibly the responsibilities of his great office, and as infirmities increased upon him, besought the king to relieve him from the burden. But Richard gave honourable testimony to his integrity and wisdom, saying that he could not find a man honest and prudent enough to supply his place. The monarch sent for him to Normandy also, and conferred with him long in regard to various enactments for the benefit of the people. Edicts were promulgated for regulating weights and measures according to one uniform standard. Much was done to encourage the manufacture of woollen cloth, and to guard purchasers against fraud. The coin was also regulated, and ordered to be of exactly the same weight and fineness ; and keeping a wary eye upon the Jews, who were at that time the great usurers of Europe, Richard enacted that all com-

pacts between Christians and Israelites, with the exact stipulations, should be put in writing. Two copies of the contract were then to be made, one for each party, and the original was to be deposited in a public repository.

All these measures, it would seem, were decided upon in Richard's conference with the archbishop; but very shortly after the election of Innocent III. to the papal throne, the sovereign pontiff required Hubert to resign the office of justiciary, alleging justly that its retention was incompatible with due attention to his ecclesiastical duties. The archbishop submitted at once; and Richard, yielding a reluctant consent, appointed to the vacant office Geoffrey Fitz Pierre, whose severities and exactions gave the people cause to regret the firm but mild rule of the archbishop.

Geoffrey was a vigorous governor, however, and a good soldier; and he succeeded, before the king's death, in suppressing a somewhat dangerous insurrection in Wales.

Such is a brief sketch of some of the detached events which took place before the signature of the truce of five years. Everything promised that the truce would be well observed on the part of Philip, whose situation had become extremely dangerous and difficult, from the disaffection of his vassals, the enmity of the Pope, and the election of Otho to the imperial dignity. His malignant conduct towards John, indeed, showed a thirst for revenge; but it would have been dangerous in the extreme to renew the war with a prince of such power, courage, and skill as Richard, while France was surrounded and divided by so many foreign and domestic enemies. John's defiance passed away unnoticed; and the restoration of the earldom of Gloucester and the county of Mortagne, with a pension of eight thousand pounds per annum, proved to Richard's brother that he had regained the confidence and affection of his sovereign.

There is every reason to believe that it was Richard's intention to visit England early in 1199; and his presence in that country might have been greatly beneficial; for in his conduct at this time many signs are to be found of the good effects of age and experience. Although he had lost none of the frank openness which distinguished him, although he preserved all his activity, his energy, and his daring, he had

learned in some degree at least to curb his temper and moderate his passions, and had acquired wider views of policy, and a better notion of the duties of a king.

Early in that year (1199), however, an event occurred, in regard to which historians give very different accounts. Intelligence reached the ears of the king that a great treasure, consisting of gold and jewels, had been found in the viscounty of Limoges, one of the most refractory and turbulent possessions of the English crown. There would seem to be no doubt that the property in a treasure so found was with the sovereign lord of the soil, and Richard's officers demanded it immediately as a waif of the crown. It is not certain that Vidomar, Viscount of Limoges, had actually found this treasure; but it is quite clear that he had possessed himself of it;* and he refused to give up more than a small part.

Enraged at this violation of his rights and contempt of his authority, Richard put himself at the head of his Brabançois, and marched at once into the Limousin. The castle of Chalus, a small place incapable of long defence, was pointed out as that in which the treasure was concealed; and it was soon surrounded by the forces of Richard, who rode round the fortifications within bow-shot of the walls, accompanied by his celebrated officer, Merchades. It would seem that he dismounted from his horse in order to examine more particularly some portion of the works; and as he thus stood completely exposed to the troops within the castle, he received the quarrel of a cross-bow in his left shoulder. It is said that before this event the garrison had offered to surrender the place, if the king would allow them to march out with their arms, and that Richard declared he would make no terms with thieves, but would take the castle and hang them from the walls. It is also said that great progress had been made in reducing the fortress; but these statements rest upon no authority of great weight, and I am inclined to refuse them credence, as it would appear, from the statements of the French chronicles, that Richard arrived before

* We are told by some writers, that the treasure was found by a peasant ploughing in a field, who immediately informed his lord, named Achard, to whom the castle of Chalus belonged; but I put no faith in this statement, which comes from a very doubtful authority.

Chalus very late in March, and he certainly received his wound not later than the 28th of that month, some indeed say on the 26th, which would appear to have been the morning after the siege commenced.*

The king paused for a few moments, remounted his horse, and returned to his tent, feeling himself more seriously hurt than he at first supposed. The quarrel was still in the

* Almost every French historian, contemporary or subsequent, places the commencement of the siege of Chalus in Passion Week. It may be said that this must be erroneous, for Easter-day in that year fell on the 18th of April, and Richard, the English historians assure us, died on the 6th of April, or five days before the commencement of Passion Week. But are the English historians more to be trusted in regard to dates than the French? It might be presumed they are in regard to events affecting the life of their own monarch. But on the other hand, their statements are so contradictory as to show that there was a darkness and a mystery, even at the period of Richard's death, in regard to the event and the circumstances by which it was accompanied, which raise very strange suspicions. Thus Hoveden calls the man who killed the king, Bertram de Gourduin; Diceto, Peter Basil; Gervase, John Sabraz. The cause of the extraordinary change in Richard's disposition of the crown is also unexplained. I have shown that when on his way to the Holy Land he anxiously laboured to secure the succession to Arthur, the legitimate heir; and that he depended upon the noble King of Scots to support and counsel the youthful prince. To say that he now thought Arthur too young for the great task is ridiculous, and no explanation of the change. Richard, when going to Palestine, looked forward to his own probable death in the wars he was undertaking; he made no change in that disposition when he was lying ill at Acre of a fever which swept thousands away around him, and Arthur was then many years younger. He did not change the disposition when ill at Jaffa, with the prospect of a dangerous journey before him, and a knowledge that John was labouring to snatch the crown, and Philip eager to strip him of his continental dominions. It is ridiculous, therefore, to assert that the change was produced by a sense of the difficulties which would attend the rule of a minor. Philip was now bound by a treaty concluded under the mediation of the Holy See. John, frustrated in all his intrigues, had learned a lesson not easily to be forgotten. England was in profound peace and submission. Normandy, Poitou, Guyenne, Touraine, were all loyal. Brittany was ready to support her prince. The barons of the whole empire looked to Arthur with hope; the common people had a superstitious veneration for his name; and the crown and the coronet were more secure to him to whom Richard had originally left them, than at any other period since the king's accession. Nothing could shake Arthur's title or prevent his succession, but the act of Richard himself in naming John for his successor. Did he really so name him? I do not know; but I much doubt. We are told that Richard, on his death-bed, commanded all his nobles present to swear fealty to John in his presence. We do not know who these nobles were. We only hear of Merchades, the captain of mercenaries, who had waged war against Constance in Brittany; and Merchades was, within the month, in arms for John in Guyenne. Might not fear, enmity, and avarice, in the mind of such a man, lead to the fabrication of a will, and the concealment of facts? Certain it is, that those who most closely watched the events of the times in which they lived, were ignorant of the facts connected with Richard's death and John's accession.

wound; but Richard ordered the attack to be at once begun, and would not suffer the injury he had received to be examined till his commands were obeyed. Stretched upon a couch, he lay listening to that din of war which was music to his ear, but which he was never destined to hear again; and at length the news was brought that the castle was taken and every one found in it put to death, with the exception of the man who had discharged the bolt from which he suffered. Then Richard allowed the surgeon of Merchades' band to examine the wound he had received. In attempting to extract the quarrel, the surgeon separated the wood from the iron, which was often barbed and triangular. He was then obliged to have recourse to the knife in order to remove the head of the weapon; and a wound not in itself mortal was aggravated by accident or want of skill. Mortification ensued; and Richard soon felt that death was approaching. The lion heart quailed not even at the sight of the last enemy. If we may believe the accounts we have received, Richard met the coming fate with the same calm firmness with which he had encountered Saladin at Assur, or repelled the Saracen host upon the beach at Jaffa.

At some period, after he became conscious that his last hour was at hand, though we know not on what day, he ordered Bertram de Gourduin (for such was probably the name of the man who slew him) to be brought before him. The young man presented himself with a bold air; and the king demanded what he had ever done to him, that he should deliberately have sought to take his life.

"You slew my father and my two brothers," the cross-bowman is reported to have answered—"and you would have slain me likewise. Torture me as you will, I shall die content, if I have killed one who has inflicted so many miseries on mankind."

"Take off his chains," said Richard, ever sensible of magnanimity, "and let him go unharmed, but not empty-handed. Give him a hundred shillings in his purse."

The man was removed; but, in direct violation of the king's dying command, was detained in prison, and after Richard's death was flayed alive, we are assured, by order of Merchades.

Richard then proceeded to make his last dispositions. We

only know what they are asserted to have been. According to the statement put forth after his death, he left all his dominions to his brother John, though the archbishop did not venture to mention the will at John's coronation.* He caused all who were present to swear fealty to his brother, though there were few, if any, in the tent who owned allegiance to a King of England; and he bequeathed to that prince three-quarters of his treasure, which John took care to secure by seizing the whole in the castle of Chinon. The rest he left to charitable and religious purposes; and his jewels he assigned to his nephew, the Emperor Otho. Arthur was never mentioned. His body he ordered to be conveyed to Fontevraud, and laid at his father's feet, perhaps in token of penitence for the offences he had committed against his parent in early life; his heart he directed to be buried in Rouen. He sought the consolations of the Church in his last hour, confessed his offences, asked and received absolution, and, calm and firm to the last, expired on the 6th of April, in the tenth year of his reign and the forty-second of his age. John, Arthur, Eleanor, Berengaria† were afar; and thus, surrounded by mercenary troopers, died Richard Cœur-de-Lion, before a petty castle, by the hand of a common soldier.

The character of Richard is written in the preceding pages. I have not attempted to extenuate one fault or to exaggerate one virtue; nor have I even ventured to dwell upon the difference between the age in which he lived and that in which I write. Yet the difference is worthy of the reader's consideration; for, although the lapse of more than six hundred years has put a bar between the mind of the present and the mind of the past, which does not suffer us to read and examine unbiassed the prejudices, the passions, the customs, the habits of thought of that epoch, yet the very knowledge that they were all different from our own, and that Richard acted under their influence, will account for many actions, palliate many errors, and teach us to pause ere

* Hubert, in the succeeding reign, sadly lost himself, and forfeited that high character which he had hitherto maintained.

† Berengaria survived her husband some years, and received from John, as her dowry, the town and territory of Bayeux, two castles in Anjou, and a pension of a thousand marks. Eleanor died in 1204.

we condemn, even where we cannot excuse. That he was frank, generous, forgiving, cannot be denied. That he was always just, I must not assert, though a general sense of rectitude is apparent throughout his life. He must not be accused of oppressing his people. His wars were either forced upon him, or the result of an epidemic frenzy, which affected not only all monarchs, but all nations; and no one has charged him with lavishing the supplies which he exacted upon his own pleasures. One dark and ineffaceable spot stains his memory—the slaughter of the garrison of Acre. Yet there was great provocation, but no excuse. He was fierce, passionate, impetuous; brave, honest, magnanimous. He had fortitude as well as courage, coolness as well as daring, skill as well as valour. He had no mean vices; he had many high qualities; and the worst that the bitterest and most venomous of his traducers, *except one*, could say of him after his death, was this: “Of all the kings who ever swayed the sceptre of England, none would have been better than Richard, if he had but preserved his fealty to that king to whom the laws required him to submit (Philip), and had feared the King of all.”*

* William the Breton. The exception which I make above is in favour of Mr. Berington. He outdid any one, modern or ancient, in the endeavour to defame a dead man. His summary of the character of Richard would be simply ludicrous, were not his malignity so apparent as to mingle other feelings with the sense of ridicule. His work, written with a feeble imitation of the grandiloquent style of Gibbon, is full of errors of fact, perversions, and concealments of the truth. His account of Richard's last days is not only absurd, but self-contradictory. He makes the king, wounded at the door of his tent, mount his horse to ride to his quarters; and in the course of his narrative a thousand similar errors might be pointed out.

William the Breton, on whose poem modern French authors have not scrupled to rely, defamed Richard living, and used the license of his craft to make a thousand assertions incompatible with known facts; but he admitted the monarch's merits when he was dead. He makes Atropos abuse Richard very severely to her sister Fates; and he represents the King of England as being frequently defeated by his own master, Philip; but he admits his virtues when death has closed the scene, and then calls the often-defeated king *Invincible*.

INDEX.

A.

ABBAS, Vizier of Egypt, ii. 18 ;
his cruelty and death, 19

Acre, capture of, by the crusaders,
i. 509 ; surrenders to Saladin, ii.
210 ; siege of, by Guy of Lusig-
nan, 291 ; gorgeous appearance
of, 307 ; offers of surrender, 317 ;
the garrison attempt in vain to
escape, 319 ; the town surren-
dered, 320 ; terms of the capi-
tulation, 320 ; they are not ful-
filled, 329 ; the garrison mas-
sacred, 330 ; quarrels of the
Pisans and Genoese at, 360 ; be-
stowed by Richard on Henry of
Champagne, 373

Aded, the last Fatimite Khalif of
Egypt, death of, ii. 42

Adel, Vizier of Egypt, death of,
ii. 18

Adelais, widow of Henry I., her
succour to Matilda, i. 37

Adelais, daughter of Louis VII.,
birth of, i. 93, 328 ; question of
her marriage to Richard, 369 ;
her intrigue with his father, ii.
90, 226, 254 ; the proposed mar-
riage abandoned, 254 ; her mar-
riage, 445

Adoption of honour, described, i.
427

Adrian IV., Pope, grants Ireland
to Henry II., i. 216

Afdal, the vizier of the Khalif of
Egypt, defeated at Ascalon, i. 503

Agen, siege and capture of, i. 353

Aiaz the Long, a Saracen emir,
death of, ii. 338

Alexander III., Pope, character of,
i. 97 ; ii. 67 ; escapes from Rome,
i. 100 ; his reception in France,
104 ; interview with Becket, 118 ;
supports Becket, and offends
Henry II., 144 ; returns to Rome,
169 ; his letter on the dispute
between Becket and Henry II.,
173 ; his temporising policy, 176 ;
quits Rome in disguise, 178 ;
question as to the authenticity
of letters ascribed to him, 193 ;
his conduct on the death of
Becket, 214 ; is reconciled to the
emperor, 365 ; his threatened
interdict against Henry II., 369 ;
his death and character, ii. 67

Alexandria, siege of, by the Em-
peror Frederic Barbarossa, i. 356

Alexandria, in Egypt, defence of,
by Saladin, ii. 31 ; its surrender,
33 ; unsuccessfully attacked by
the Sicilian fleet, 47

Alexius, the Greek Emperor, his
conduct to the crusaders, i. 417 ;
his character, 421 ; his treachery,
423 ; negotiations with Godfrey,
426 ; follows the crusaders into
Phrygia, 472 ; retreats, 472

Alice. *See* Adelais

Alice, daughter of Eudes of Bri-
tanny, i. 163 ; said to be violated
by Henry II., 164

Allodial lands, i. 5, 6 ; done away
with by the Normans, 8

Almeric, King of Jerusalem, cha-
racter of, ii. 27 ; his wars in
Egypt, 29, 35, 40 ; prepares for
another crusade, 44 ; his death,
45

- Alphonso of Castile, marriage of, to the princess Eleanor, i. 337
- Amand, Odo of St., Grand Master of the Temple, his character, ii. 160; is taken prisoner, 161
- Anjou, revolt in, i. 263
- Anjou, Fulk, Count of, i. 27; becomes King of Jerusalem, 514; his death, 515
- Anjou, Geoffrey, Count of, marries Matilda, daughter of Henry I., i. 27; his conduct, 27, 40, 45; his death, 46
- Antioch, siege of, by the crusaders, i. 457; its capture, 469; the crusaders besieged by Kerboga, 472; the siege raised, 479; becomes a Christian principality, 480
- Aquitaine, Duke of, a title bestowed on Richard, i. 344
- Aquitaine and Poitou, rebellions in, i. 179; conspiracy in, 102
- Arabs, conquest of Syria by the, i. 383
- Arthur of Brittany, birth of, ii. 95; question as to his guardianship, 98, 455; proposed marriage, 242; declared heir to Richard, 244; disputes, 455; doubts as to his being set aside by Richard, 471
- Arundel, speech of the Earl of, i. 54
- Ascalon, battle of, i. 502; capture of the city by the Franks, ii. 20; terms of its surrender to Saladin, 212; dismantled by him, 347; the fortifications restored by Richard, 358; again dismantled, 390
- Assassins, or Ismailians, or Bateniens, sect of the, i. 512; attempt the life of Saladin, ii. 50; kill Conrad of Montferrat, 367; pretended letter on the subject from their prince, 422
- Assize of arms, its object, ii. 61
- Assizes de Jerusalem, compilation of the, i. 504
- Assur, battle of, ii. 342
- Attalia, sufferings of the crusaders before, ii. 10
- Austria, Marchioness of, death of, i. 506
- Austria, Leopold, Duke of, his jealousy of Richard, ii. 353; their cause of quarrel obscure, 351; makes him prisoner, 397; surrenders him to the emperor, 398; his death, 447
- Auvergne, hostilities in, i. 161
- Avesnes, James of, his services before Acre, ii. 294; his death at Assur, 344
- Ayoub, a Kurd, father of Saladin, ii. 23; avoids a quarrel with Nouredin, 43; his death, 44

B.

- Baguisian or Baghasian, Prince of Antioch, i. 455; defeats the crusaders, i. 463; is betrayed, 467; his flight, 470
- Baldwin I., King of Jerusalem, i. 505; his character, 506; defeated, 507; his successes, 509; his last injunctions and death, 509
- Baldwin II., King of Jerusalem, i. 510; his reign and death, 514
- Baldwin III., King of Jerusalem, i. 515; shakes off the tutelage of his mother Melesinda, ii. 14; his wars, 22, 24; his marriage, 25; his death and character, 27
- Baldwin IV. (the Leper), King of Jerusalem, reign of, ii. 46; his success in Syria, 47; war with Saladin, 50; defeats him at Ramla, 157; is defeated by Ferokhschah, 159; defeated by Saladin, 161; gives his sister Sybilla to Guy of Lusignan, 162; truce with Saladin, 163; his deplorable state, 173; appoints Guy of Lusignan regent, 173; annuls the appointment and declares his nephew Baldwin his

- heir, 177 ; relieves Carac, 178 ; attempts to deprive Guy of his towns, 179 ; appoints the Count of Tripoli regent, 179 ; his death, 181
- Baldwin V., King of Jerusalem, his second coronation, ii. 181 ; his death, 184
- Baldwin, Count of Flanders, an ally of Richard, ii. 456
- Baldwin of Mons, Count of Hainault, i. 481
- Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, his services in the crusade, i. 404, 416, 425, 450, 452, 497 ; becomes king, 505. *See* Baldwin I.
- Baldwin, son of Sibylla, declared heir to the throne of Jerusalem, ii. 177 ; is crowned in the lifetime of his uncle. *See* Baldwin V.
- Baliol, Bernard de, chivalrous speech of, i. 286
- Bamrillah, the Khalif, his persecution of the Christians, i. 388
- Bar, Count de, ii. 60
- Barcelona, Raymond, Count of, i. 82
- Bardolph, Hugh, Lord, a partisan of John, ii. 434
- Barres, William de, his combat with Richard, ii. 107 ; quarrel with him at Messina, 248 ; powerfully seconds him in battle, 334 ; their reconciliation, 334 ; his bravery at Assur, 343, 345
- Bartelmy, Peter, the discoverer of the Holy Lance, i. 474 ; his death, 488
- Batensians, or Ismalians, rise of the, i. 512
- Bayonne, capture of, i. 354
- Beucaire, cour plenièrè of, i. 310
- Beauseant, the banner of the Templars, i. 511
- Beauvais, Bishop of, at the battle of Assur, ii. 343 ; is captured by Merchades, 459 ; his release refused by Richard, 460
- Beauvais and Neufmarché, synods of, i. 101
- Beck, Abbot of, refuses the see of Canterbury, i. 226
- Becket, Thomas, early life of, i. 110 ; becomes chancellor, 88 ; his negotiations and wars, 76, 88, 90, 91 ; elected Archbishop of Canterbury, 113 ; quarrel with the King, 115 ; attempts to leave England, 133 ; condemned in the council at Northampton, 141 ; flees from England 143 ; review of his conduct, 145 ; excommunicates his opponents, 170 ; his letters to the bishops, 175 ; his violence, 191 ; formal reconciliation with the King, 195 ; returns to England, 202 ; his reception 203 ; his life threatened, 204 ; anger of the king against him, 205 ; his murder, 209 ; miracles ascribed to him, 211
- Berengaria of Navarre, ii. 252 ; her danger at Cyprus, 264 ; married to Richard, 269 ; proceeds to Palestine, 275 ; her reception there by Philip Augustus, 308 ; her stay at Acre, 333 ; her return to Europe, 448 ; little known further of her history, 448 ; her death, 473
- Bernard, St., preaches the second crusade, ii. 3
- Bernard, the hermit of Vincennes, ii. 227
- Berytes, attack on, by Saladin, ii. 163
- Bethanopolis, advance of Richard to, ii. 355 ; sufferings of the crusaders on their retreat, 357 ; his second advance, 375 ; retires, 380
- Bethune, Baldwin of, a hostage for Richard, his mission, ii. 447
- Bezièrs, Roger, Viscount of, ii. 92
- Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, a partisan of the youngking Henry, i. 261, 275, 287 ; is pardoned, 288
- Bishops excommunicated by Becket, i. 191, 202 ; absolved by the Pope, 214

- "Blessing on Islamism," what victory so termed, ii. 192, 195
- Blondel de Nesle, his reputed discovery of the place of Richard's imprisonment, ii. 419
- Bocland, explanation of, i. 6
- Boemond, Prince of Tarentum, a leader in the first crusade, i. 404, 429; defeats the Greeks, 431; does homage to Alexius, 432; defeats the Sultan Soliman, 448; his stratagem at the siege of Antioch, 461; defeated, 463; promises the surrender of the city, 467; quarrel with Raymond, 484; his cruelty, 485; taken prisoner, 505; his death, 508
- Boemond II., Prince of Antioch, defeat and death of, i. 516
- Boemond III., Prince of Antioch, ii. 162; his discontent, 163; his intrigue with Sybilla, 164; its consequences, 165; sends succour to Guy of Lusignan, 194; makes a truce with Saladin, 286
- Bouillon, Godfrey of, a leader of the first crusade, i. 413; his valour and conduct, 414, 416; defeats the Greeks, 425; negotiations, 426; crosses the Bosphorus, 429; captures Nicea, 441; siege of Antioch, 457, 479; advance on Jerusalem, 489; directs the siege of the city, 491; is chosen king, 501; gains the battle of Ascalon, 502; his death, 503
- Boulogne, Count of, an ally of Richard, ii. 456
- Britanny, contest for the duchy of, i. 73; acquired by Henry II., 157; revolt in, 249; designs of Philip Augustus on, ii. 94
- Brabançois, mercenary troops, employed by Richard, ii. 443; by Philip, 109; his scandalous treatment of them, 110
- Brito, Richard, one of the murderers of Becket, i. 206; his penance, 223
- Broc, Ranulph de, wastes Becket's lands, i. 199; his threats against Becket, 202; restrained by John of Oxford, 203; assists the murderers of Becket, 206
- Burgundy, Duke of, his rebellion against Philip Augustus, ii. 62; his country ravaged, 65; goes on the crusade, 327; massacres his prisoners, 330; at the battle of Assur, 340; his jealousy of Richard, 353; quits the army, 357; returns, 358; quarrels with Richard, 358; retires to Acre, 359; in danger from the Pisans, 360; withdraws with the French troops from Palestine, 362

C.

- Caliburn, King Arthur's sword, ii. 250
- Calixtus, the anti-pope, submission of, i. 366
- Camville, Gerard de, a partisan of John, ii. 434
- Camville, Richard de, appointed one of the governors of Cyprus, ii. 274
- Canterbury, Baldwin, Archbishop of, character of, ii. 143; his controversy with Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, 144; his quarrel with the monks of Canterbury, 146; his death before Acre, 301
- Canterbury, Hubert, Archbishop of, regent of the kingdom, ii. 426; takes the field against the partisans of John, 432; crowns Richard, 435; resigns the office of justiciary, 469
- Canterbury, Richard, Archbishop of, his character, i. 227
- Canterbury, Thomas, Archbishop of. *See* Becket
- Canterbury cathedral, burning and rebuilding of, i. 312
- Canterbury and York, dispute between the sees of, i. 325; ii. 144
- Capua, Peter of, a cardinal, ii. 461

- Carac, Lord of. *See* Chatillon, Regnault of
- Carac, unsuccessful siege of, by Saladin, ii. 177; is captured by Malek Adel, 286
- Carloman, King of Hungary, treachery of, i. 410; his treaty with the crusaders under Godfrey, 416
- Castellonium above Agen, capture of, i. 343
- Castles, demolition of in England, in the reign of Stephen, i. 61; completed under Henry II., 65; demolition of many in France, 343
- Celestine III., Pope, interests himself to procure the liberation of Richard, ii. 418
- Champagne, Henry, Count of, at the battle of Assur, ii. 340, 343; his fidelity to his uncle Richard, 358; sent to Conrad to announce to him his election as King of Jerusalem, 366; is himself appointed king, 372; marries Conrad's widow, 372; receives the gift of Acre from Richard, 373; his death, 456
- Charlemagne and Haroun al Raschid, negotiations between, i. 386
- Chatillon, Regnault of, Regent of Antioch and Lord of Carac, his quarrel with the Emperor Manuel, ii. 25; captured by the Turks, 26; his release, 153; breaks the truce with Saladin, 167; successfully defends Carac against him, 177; plunders the Mussulman caravans, 183; a partisan of Sybilla, 184; taken prisoner at Tiberiad, 203; put to death by Saladin, 207
- Chermias, daughter of the Emperor Isaac, ii. 273, 447
- Chester, Ranulph, Earl of, his marriage to Constance of Brittany, ii. 98
- Chichester, Bishop of, his speech to Becket, i. 141
- Chirkedun, Adam de, cruel treatment of, i. 348
- Chivalry, spirit of, i. 266
- Church, schism in the, i. 96; synods of Beauvais and Neufmarché, 101; its termination, 365
- Circuits of the judges, appointment of, i. 332
- Cistercians, demand on the, for a part of Richard's ransom, ii. 426
- Clare, Richard de. *See* Strongbow
- Clarendon, constitutions of, i. 123; question as to their abrogation, 222; confirmed, 329
- Clement, Alberic, gallantry and death of, ii. 314
- Clergy, exemptions and privileges of the, i. 117; attempt of Henry II. to abridge them, 120; the constitutions of Clarendon, 123
- Clermont, council of, i. 395; the crusade determined on, 397
- Clifford, Rosamond, a mistress of Henry II., i. 279
- Communes of the middle ages, i. 11
- Como, defeat of the imperialists at, i. 363
- Conan the Fat, Duke of Brittany, i. 73
- Conan the Less obtains possession of Brittany, i. 77; treachery of his nobles, 158; appeals for support to Henry II., 159
- Conrad, the Emperor, his proceedings in the East, ii. 6; treachery of the Greeks, 6; his losses, 6
- Conrad of Montferrat. *See* Montferrat
- Constance of Brittany married to Geoffrey, son of Henry II., i. 161; birth of her son Arthur, ii. 95; her second marriage, 98; her distrust of Richard, 455
- Constance of Castile, death of, i. 93
- Constancia, the wife of the Emperor Henry VI., ii. 232
- Cornwall, Reginald, Earl of, his death, i. 336
- Courtenay, Joscelyn de, Prince of Edessa, driven out by Zengui, i. 516; recovers possession, 518; obliged to retire, 519; defeats

- Noureddin, ii. 14; is captured by him, and dies in prison, 15
- Courtenay, Joscelyn de, guardian of Baldwin V., ii. 181; his treachery to the Count of Tripoli, 185; captured at Tiberiad, 206
- Crusades, causes which led to the, i. 379, 390; when determined on, 397; enthusiasm with which entered on, 400; the chief leaders, 404; difficulties, 405; outrages and sufferings, 407, 409, 449; advance into Asia, 429; siege of Antioch, 457; famine in the camp, 460; dissensions, 487; advance on Jerusalem, 489; capture of the city, 492; foundation of the Christian kingdom, 500; preaching of the second crusade, ii. 2; its disastrous results, 6, 10, 13; the third crusade, 99
- Curds, battle of the Castle of the, ii. 29
- Cursed Tower, the, at Acre, ii. 313; battered down, 315
- Cyprus, barbarity of the people of, to the shipwrecked crusaders, ii. 263; conquest of the island by Richard, 273; English governors appointed, 274; bestowed by Richard on Guy of Lusignan, 373
- D.
- Daher, son of Saladin, engages Richard at Jaffa, ii. 386
- Damascus, siege of, by the crusaders, ii. 12; captured by Saladin, 48; its territory pillaged by Baldwin IV., 52, 171; massacre of Christian captives at, 209
- Damietta, unsuccessful siege of, ii. 40
- Dargam, an Egyptian adventurer, ii. 27; his cruelty, 28; his death, 28
- Daroum, capture of, by Richard, ii. 374; its fortifications rased, 380
- David I. of Scotland, i. 26; attacks Stephen, 34; supports Henry of Normandy, 43; claims the northern counties of England, 43, 68
- David, brother of William the Lion, invades England, i. 277; retires, 287
- Dermot, King of Leinster, reinstated by Strongbow, i. 216; his death, 218
- Desmoulins, Roger, Grand Master of the Hospital, death of, ii. 192
- Dieppe, capture and plunder of, by Philip Augustus, ii. 450
- Dorylæum, battle of, i. 446
- Du Bourg, Baldwin, i. 505
- Dupuy, Raymond, first Grand Master of the Hospitallers, i. 504
- Dürenstein or Trifels, imprisonment of Richard at, ii. 398, 402
- E.
- Edessa, Baldwin of Lorraine becomes Prince of, i. 453; resigned to Baldwin du Bourg, 505; resigned to Joscelyn de Courtenay, 510; capture of, by Zengui, 510; recovered by Joscelyn de Courtenay, 518; abandoned by him, and dismantled by Noureddin, 520
- Egypt, tribute from, to the Christian kingdom of Palestine, ii. 21; war in, 29; Saladin becomes vizier, 37; assailed unsuccessfully by the Franks, 40, 44
- Ela, siege of, by Regnault of Chatillon, ii. 172
- Eleanor of Aquitaine married to Louis VII. of France, i. 43; accompanies him to the crusade, 44, ii. 5; divorced, i. 47; marries Henry of Normandy, 47; their children, 65, 79, 161, 226, 337; favours the rebellion of his

- sons, 232; is imprisoned, 233; her divorce proposed, 326; released from prison, and sent to Aquitaine, ii. 90; brought back to England, 91; again imprisoned, 122; set at liberty by her son Richard, 122; her influence over him, 125, 223; goes to him at Messina, 252, 256; reconciles Longchamp and the Archbishop of Rouen, 413; her exertions to liberate Richard, 426, 431; her death, 473
- Eleanor, daughter of Henry II., married to Alphonso of Castile, i. 337
- Emadeddin becomes Prince of Aleppo, ii. 166; surrenders the city to Saladin, 170
- Emadeddin of Ispahan, his reflections on the battle of Tiberiad, ii. 205
- English crusaders, remarkable sea voyage of the, i. 488
- Eudes, a claimant of the duchy of Brittany, i. 74, 163; reduced by Henry II., 165
- Eugenius III., Pope, favours a new crusade, ii. 2
- Eustace, son of Stephen, ravages the lands of Matilda's partisans, i. 43; his acknowledgment as heir to the crown refused, 49; his war with Henry of Normandy, 48, 58; his death, 59
- Ezzeddin Massoud, Emir of Mousoul, ii. 166; leagues with the Christians against Saladin, 169; obliged to submit to him, 182
- F.
- Ferokhschah, nephew of Saladin, defeats Baldwin IV., ii. 159
- Feudal system, rise of the, i. 3; feudal institutions in Saxon times, 5; under the Normans, 7; grades in the state, 8; tenures, 9; courts, 9; the communes, 10; scutage, 12
- Firouz, a spy, at Antioch, i. 467
- Fitz-Comte, Brian, a partisan of Matilda, i. 37; defends the castle of Wallingford, 50
- Fitzgerald, Maurice, an early invader of Ireland, i. 216
- Fitzgerald, Raymond, successes of, in Ireland, i. 319
- Fitz Osbert, William, story of, ii. 467
- Fitz Pierre, Geoffrey, the justiciary, severity of, ii. 469
- Fitz Stephen, Robert, an early invader of Ireland, i. 216
- Fitz Stephen's description of London, i. 20
- Fitzurse, Reginald, one of the murderers of Becket, i. 206; his penance, 223
- Flanders, Baldwin, Count of, makes an alliance with Richard, ii. 456
- Flanders, Philip, Count of, his hostility to Henry II., i. 168, 249; his ambitious schemes, ii. 59, 62; defeated by the King of France, 65; driven from France, 58; obliged to submit, 66; endeavours to form a league against Philip, 85; is again defeated by him, 87; goes to the Holy Land, i. 308, 340; his conduct in Palestine, ii. 152; his death before Acre, 302; his treasures seized by the King of France, 302
- Flanders, Robert, Count of, a leader in the first crusade, i. 404; his progress, 433; captures Artesia, 453; approaches Aleppo, 457; captures Marrah, 484; at Jerusalem, 496, 497; at Ascalon, 503
- Fleet, Richard's, laws for its government, ii. 225; its arrival at Messina, 231; quarrel of the English and Italian sailors, 247; its magnificence, 261; scattered by a tempest, 262: its departure from Acre, 392; its dispersion by storms, and ill-treatment of the crews, 392

Flemings, invasion of England by the, i. 261, 275; their withdrawal, 276
 Foliot, Gilbert, Bishop of London, letter of, i. 125; question as to its genuineness, 125; excommunicated by Becket, 191; absolved by the Pope, 214
 Folkland, explanation of, i. 6
 Fontaines, Walter des, death of, i. 340
 Forest laws, transgression of the, i. 322; their severity, 324
 Fougeres, capture of, i. 160
 Franc-almoign tenure, i. 9
 Frederic Barbarossa, supports Victor III., i. 98; his successes in Italy, 172, 177; fails before Alexandria, 358; reconciled to the Church, 365; goes on the crusade, ii. 288; his death, 301
 Freteval, battle of, ii. 444; the archives of France taken there, 445
 Freysinghen, Bishop of, in the second crusade, ii. 6
 Fulke of Neuilly, preaching of, ii. 222; retort of Richard, 222

G.

Geoffrey, brother of Henry II., despoiled of his heritage by the king, i. 70; received into the town of Nantes, 75; his death, 75
 Geoffrey, son of Henry II., affianced to Constance of Brittany, i. 161; joins in the rebellion of his brother Henry, 232; submits to his father, 298; is knighted, ii. 52; assists the King of France against his rebellious nobles, 64; performs homage to his elder brother, 68; leagues with him against Richard, 73; his treachery, 74, 76; his feigned submission to his father, 82; makes war on Richard, but is repulsed, 84; demands Anjou from his father, 93; his death and character, 93
 Geoffrey, natural son of Henry II., arms for his father against the young king, i. 279; his promotion to the office of chancellor, 67; commands a body of troops in France, 95; is left in charge of Anjou, 112; his affection for his father, 114; attends him on his death-bed, 117; becomes Archbishop of York, 121; unsuccessful opposition of Queen Eleanor, 125; quarrel with the Archbishop of Canterbury, 144; with the king, 145; forbidden to return to England, 223, 435; returns, and is arrested by Longchamp, 408; liberated, 408; takes the field against the partisans of John, 432; disputes with Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, 468
 German princes, honourable conduct of the, towards Richard, ii. 423, 431
 Gisors, frequent conferences between the Kings of England and France at, i. 149; ii. 59, 108; the great elm there spitefully cut down by Philip Augustus, ii. 109; he is defeated there, 459
 Glanville, Ranulph de, resigns his office of justiciary, ii. 139; arrested and heavily fined, 140; charge against him, 141; his death before Acre, 301
 Gloucester, Robert, Earl of, his dispute with Stephen, Count of Boulogne, i. 27; lands in England with Matilda, 37; is captured, 38; exchanged for Stephen, 39; seeks aid from Geoffrey, 40; defeats Stephen at Wilton, 41; his death, 42
 Godfrey of Bouillon. *See* Bouillon, Godfrey of
 Gottschalk, a priest, expedition of, i. 409
 Greek fire, its employment at Acre, ii. 311, 313, 314, 316
 Greeks, treachery of the, to the crusaders, i. 423; ii. 6, 10

Green Knight, legend of the, ii. 280
Griffins, or gryfons, probable meaning of, ii. 237

Gregory VIII., Pope, ii. 99

Gryffyth, Rees ap, a Welsh chieftain, i. 73; bad faith of Henry II. to, 113; insurrection in Wales, 114, 149; barbarity of Henry II., 151; becomes justiciary of South Wales, 220; gives help to Henry against his son, 278

H.

Hagenau, Richard summoned before a diet at, ii. 420

Hainault, Baldwin, Count of, i. 48

Hainault, Isabella of, ii. 58; her marriage to Philip Augustus, 58; her death, 227

Harem, siege of, by the Christians, ii. 153; their retreat, 153; its surrender to Saladin, 171

Haroun al Raschid, his intercourse with Charlemagne, i. 386; favours the Christian pilgrims, 387

Henry VI., the Emperor, ii. 233; imprisons Richard, 398; his sordid motives, 402; his base conduct, 422, 423; assumes the cross, 462; his death, 463

Henry I., King of England, charter of, i. 14; endeavours to secure the throne to his daughter Matilda, 26, 28; his death, 29; his burial, 32

Henry II., commencement of the reign of, i. 64; resumption of the crown lands, 65; disregard of his oath, 69; expedition against Wales, 71; obtains possession of Nantes, 77; claims the county of Toulouse, 81; his duplicity, 93; war with Louis VII., 95; quarrel with Archbishop Becket, 115; negotiation with the Pope, 122; his errors and injustice, 147; conference with Louis VII., 149; his barbarity to the Welsh hostages,

151; allies himself with the emperor, 152; acquires Brittany, 157; further successes, 165; quarrel with Matthew of Flanders, 168; treaty with Louis VII., 183; narrowly escapes shipwreck, 188; reconciled to Becket, 194; fresh quarrel, 205; his angry speech, 205; his grief at Becket's death, 211; invasion of Ireland, 219; interview with the papal legates, 221; terms of agreement, 222; rebellion of his sons, 232; his proposals for peace, 260; pilgrimage to the shrine of Becket, 283; agreement with his sons, 298; treatment of the King of Scotland, 303; severe laws, 321; treatment of his queen, 327; marriages of his daughters, 337; his arbitration between Sancho of Navarre and Alphonso of Castile, 338; demands on the King of France, 368; agrees to go to the Holy Land, 374; his conference with Philip Augustus, ii. 59; his treacherous dealing with his sons, 63; agreement with the young Henry, 65; commands Richard and Geoffrey to do homage to their brother, 68; refusal of Richard, 71; his life endangered by his sons, 74; does homage to Philip for his transmarine territories, 83; obtains Poictou from Richard, 89; his intrigue with the Princess Adelaïs, 90; quarrel with Philip, 88; his temperate policy, 98; war with France, 105; his suspicious conduct to Richard, 110; a truce, 112; the war renewed, 113; Henry is put to flight by Philip and Richard, 114; his last conference with Philip, 115; his death, 116; his funeral, 118

Henry, son of Henry II., birth of, i. 65; fealty sworn to him, 65; his betrothal and marriage, 76,

- 93; acts as seneschal to the King of France, 186; is crowned, 188; consequences of his coronation, 194, 203; his message to Becket, 203; again crowned, 224; his demands, 225; rebels against his father, 232; his improvident grants to his supporters, 250; agreement with his father, 298; his penitence, 306; his ambitious yearnings, 344; his cruelty, 348; fresh disputes with his father, 350; assists at the coronation of Philip Augustus, ii. 56; supports him against his rebellious nobles, 64; makes war on his brother Richard, 73; his treachery, 75; his illness, 77; his death, 78; his character, 79
- Henry, son of Matilda, fealty sworn to, i. 28; brought to England, 40; sent back, 42; again lands, and proceeds to Scotland, 43; his knighthood, 43; his marriage, 47; quarrel with the King of France, 48; again comes to England, 51; negotiation, and treaty with Stephen, 58; his reception in London, 63. *See* Henry II.
- Henry of Champagne. *See* Champagne, Henry of
- Henry, Bishop of Winchester, favours the views of Stephen on the throne, i. 29; quarrels with him, 36; reconciled, 38; his defence of his conduct, 39; his communications with the Earl of Arundel, 53; his counsel to Becket, 136
- Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, visit of, to England, ii. 87; his scandalous life, 186; crowns Sybilla, 186; shrinks from his duty, 194; his base counsel at the siege of Jerusalem, 219; assumes the command of the citadel of Jaffa, 381
- Heretics, punishment of some, i. 156
- Hermopolis, battle of, ii. 31
- Holy Lance, legend of the, i. 474; controversy and ordeal by fire concerning it, 488
- Holy Sepulchre, visits to the, i. 379; favoured by the Khalifs, 387
- Hospitallers, Knights, establishment of the, i. 504; contests with the Templars, ii. 35
- Hugh of Horsea, barbarity of, i. 210
- Hugh of Vermandois, a leader of the first crusade, i. 404, 417; his imprisonment, 420; his liberation, 423; his death, 506
- Hugo, or Huguson, Cardinal, the papal legate, i. 325
- Humet, Richard de, the bearer of a message for the arrest of Becket, i. 206
- Huntingdon and Garioch, David, Earl of, ii. 435

I.

- Ibelin, Balian of, ii. 181; his prudent counsel to Guy of Lusignan, 189; an envoy to the Count of Tripoli, 190; at the battle of Tiberiad, 203; escapes to Tyre, 210; defends Jerusalem, 214; his mission to Saladin, 219; his bold speech, 220; arranges the capitulation, 221
- Ibelin, Hugh of, Lord of Ramla, ii. 180
- Ida, Marchioness of Austria, her death, i. 506
- Ingeburga, a Danish princess, her marriage to, and divorce from, Philip Augustus, ii. 427
- Innocent III., Pope, brings about a truce between Richard and Philip Augustus, ii. 461
- Ipres, William of, his counsel to Stephen, i. 34
- Ireland, grant of, to Henry II., by the Pope, i. 216; invaded by the English, 217, 219; agreement with the native princes, 219, 316; hostilities, 317
- Isaac, Emperor of Cyprus, his treachery to the crusaders, ii. 263;

- defeated by Richard, 268; his treachery, 271; captured, and imprisoned till his death, 273, 275; his liberation ineffectually negotiated for, 423
- Isabella, sister of Baldwin IV., her marriage to Humphrey of Thoron, ii. 177; divorced from him, 303; married to Conrad of Montferrat, 304; her claim to the crown of Jerusalem, 323; her conduct on Conrad's death, 371; marries Henry of Champagne, 372
- Ismael, son of Noureddin, ii. 39; is aided by the Franks against Saladin, 48; deserted by them, 49
- Issoudun, capture of, by Merchades, ii. 451
- Ivelin, an Armenian, ii. 156
- Ivenus, a knight at Carac, gallowanry of, ii. 178
- Ivry, conferences of, i. 375
- J.
- Jacob's ford, erection of a fort at, ii. 159; attacked unsuccessfully by Saladin, 160; demolished by him, 161
- Jaffa, or Joppa, capture of, by the crusaders, i. 491; recovered by Saladin, ii. 211; occupied by Richard, 348; the town, but not the citadel, taken by Saladin, 381; relieved by Richard, 384; desperate combat on the beach, 386; truce concluded, 390
- Jerusalem, Christian kingdom of, i. 500; its kings, 501, 505, 510, 515; ii. 27, 46, 181; its overthrow by Saladin, ii. 221; re-established by Richard I., 366
- Jerusalem, attempt to rebuild the temple of, i. 379; capture of, by the Arabs, 383; by the crusaders, 492; by Saladin, ii. 221; terms of the surrender, 221; Richard's advance towards, 355, 375
- Jews, massacre of, by the crusaders, i. 410; renewed persecution, ii. 4; toleration of, by Henry II., 101; massacre of, at the coronation of Richard I., 132
- Joachim, the abbot, his prophecies, ii. 246
- Joan, daughter of Henry II., married to William the Good, of Sicily, i. 337; her treatment by Tancred, ii. 236; compensation enforced by Richard, 242; accompanies him to Palestine, 257, 275; her danger at Cyprus, 264; arrives at Acre, 308; her sojourn there, 333; proposal for her marriage to Malek-adel, 354; her return to Europe, and marriage to the Count of St. Giles, 448, 455
- John, son of Henry II., i. 226, 229; with Geoffrey makes war on Richard, ii. 84; commands a body of troops in France, 95; his treachery a cause of his father's death, 116; liberally treated by Richard, 125; suspected by him, but pardoned, 223; enmity of Longchamp, 245; returns to England, 404; fresh quarrels with Longchamp, 405, 410; is received as Richard's successor, 411; his intrigues with Philip Augustus, 414; his duplicity, 417, 418; goes to France, and makes a treaty with Philip, 428, 439; his base proposal to the emperor, 430; his treachery discovered, 432; his rebellion suppressed, 432; punishment of his partisans, 434; is pardoned by Richard, 441; greatly favoured by him, 461; affects to quarrel with Philip Augustus, 461; is appointed by Richard to succeed him, 473
- John the Marshal, charge against Becket regarding, i. 134
- John of Oxford, sent on an embassy to the Pope, i. 171; his success, 172; sent to escort Bec-

- ket to England, 202; protects him from the violence of De Broc, 203
 John of Salisbury, ascribes miracles to Becket, i. 211; his hostility to the king, 213
 Joppa. *See* Jaffa
 Jorwarth, rebellion of, in Wales, i. 320; his submission, 320
 Judges' circuits, appointment of, i. 332; names of the justiciaries, 332
 Julian the Apostate, failure of his attempt to build the temple of Jerusalem, i. 379

K.

- Kaukah, capture of, ii. 287
 Kemeschtekin, death of, ii. 153
 Kerboga, Emir of Moussoul, besieges the crusaders in Antioch, i. 472; discontent in his camp, 473; his defeat, 479
 Khalifs, the Egyptian, ii. 17; their weakness, 17; their dynasty ended, 42
 Kilig Arslan defeats the crusaders, i. 506; suspected to be a Christian, ii. 320
 Knighthood, origin of, i. 264; ceremony of, 239; form of the knight's oath, 269; duty of a knight, 270
 Knights Hospitallers, establishment of the, i. 504
 Knights Templars, establishment of the, i. 510

L.

- Lacy, Hugh de, appointed justiciary of Ireland, i. 220; attempt to assassinate him, 317
 La Marche, the county of, acquired by Henry II., i. 377
 Leicester, siege and capture of, i. 258
 Leicester, Earl of, invades England in the cause of the young king Henry, i. 261; is taken pri-

- soner, 263; is pardoned, 305; at the siege of Acre, 315; at the battle of Assur, 343; rescued by Richard, 352; again in danger, 355; drives Philip from before Rouen, 429; is taken prisoner, 444
 Limoges, successive captures of, ii. 73, 81
 London, Fitz-Stephen's description of, i. 20; its commerce, 17
 Longchamp, William, Bishop of Ely, the chancellor, his early life, ii. 140, 260; his contest with the Bishop of Durham, 140; becomes regent of the kingdom, 223; his enmity to Earl John, 244; imprisons the Bishop of Durham, and grasps all power in his own hands, 403; allows Earl John to return to England, 404; quarrels between them, 404; peace concluded, 407; seizes Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, 408; is himself obliged to seek refuge in the Tower, 408; accusations against him, 409; escapes, but is discovered and imprisoned at Dover, 411; allowed to leave England, 411; returns, 412; retires again, 412; negotiates with Earl John, 417; discovery of Richard's place of imprisonment ascribed to him, 419; visits him in Germany, 424; returns to England to raise the king's ransom, 425; his mission to the emperor, 453
 Longsword, William, son of the Marquis of Montferrat, marriage and death of, ii. 152
 Lorraine, Baldwin of, joins the first crusade, i. 404, 416; defeats the Greeks, 425; obtains possession of Tarsus, 450; death of his wife, 450; acknowledged as heir to the principality of Edessa, 452; at the siege of Jerusalem, 497; chosen king, 505. *See* Baldwin I.
 Lorraine, Godfrey of. *See* Bouillon, Godfrey of

- Louis VII., King of France, proceeds on the crusade, ii. 5; gains a victory on the banks of the Meander, 8; sustains a defeat, 9; arrives in Jerusalem, 11; divorces his queen Eleanor, i. 47; attacks Normandy, 48; supports the Count of Toulouse, 89; war with Henry II., 95; supports Becket, 148; interview with Henry II. at Gisors, 149; fresh hostilities, 182; treaty, 183; supports Henry's rebellious sons, 246; his treachery, 255; besieges Rouen, 290; makes peace, 296; conference with Henry at Ivry, 372; makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, ii. 56; his illness, 56; his death, 57
- Love, science of, i. 238
- Lucy, Richard de, the justiciary, i. 140; his military services, 258, 262; his death, 336
- Lusignan, Geoffrey de, conspires against Richard, ii. 102; is driven out of Aquitaine, 102; captured at Tiberiad, 203; released, 283; his skill and courage before Acre, 312; his defiance of Conrad of Montferrat, 325; fiefs granted to him, 325
- Lusignan, Guy of, murders the Earl of Salisbury, i. 164; appointed regent of Jerusalem, 173; his character, ii. 162; marries Sybilla, 162; general discontent thereat, 174; is degraded from the office, 177; his quarrel with the king, 179; receives the crown of Jerusalem from Sybilla, 187; contempt of the nobles, 187; marches against the Count of Tripoli, 188; is reconciled to him, 193; raises a large force against Saladin, 194; is defeated and taken prisoner, 203; attempts in vain to save the life of Regnault of Chatillon, 207; orders the surrender of Ascalon, 211; is set at liberty by Saladin, 214; visits Richard in Cyprus, 269, 283; refused admission into Tyre, 284; his quarrels with Conrad of Montferrat, 284, 325; marches to attack Acre, 291; his perilous position, 293; favoured by Richard, 325; at the battle of Assur, 340; receives Cyprus from Richard instead of Jerusalem, 373
- Lutold, a knight, at the capture of Jerusalem, i. 497
- M.
- Mahommed, rise of, i. 381; his doctrines, 381
- Maille, Jacquelin de, a Templar, valour of, ii. 192
- Malcolm, King of Scotland, does homage to Henry II., i. 73; serves in his army, and is knighted, 90
- Malek-adel, brother of Saladin, ii. 47; invades Palestine, 211; captures Carac, 286; at the battle of Assur, 344; employed to negotiate with Richard, 353; proposal for his marriage with the Princess Joan, 354; his dissension with Saladin, 363; his son knighted by Richard, 364; his present to Richard during the heat of battle, 387; negotiates the truce between Richard and Saladin, 390
- Malek Shah, Sultan of Aleppo, ii. 152; his death, 165
- Malus-catulus, Roger de, death of, ii. 263; his body washed on shore, and the king's seal recovered, 274
- Mamistra, storming of, i. 450
- Manassen, the favourite of Melesinda, Queen of Jerusalem, ii. 14
- Manuel, the Greek Emperor, treachery of, ii. 6; his march into Syria, 25; acts as a surgeon to Baldwin III., 26; his marriage,

- 26; sends a fleet against Egypt, 39; is defeated by Kilig Arslan, 51; his death, 164
- Marchader**, a leader of mercenaries in the service of Richard, ii. 445; captures Issoudun, 451; subdues an insurrection in Brittany, 455; captures the Bishop of Beauvais, 459; barbarity to the slayer of Richard ascribed to him, 472
- Margaret**, daughter of Louis VII., betrothed to Henry, son of Henry II., i. 76; married, 93; crowned, 224; question as to her marriage portion, ii. 82
- Margarit**, the Sicilian admiral, succours the Christians in Palestine, ii. 288
- Marialva**, death of the Count of, i. 270
- Marrah**, capture of, i. 484
- Mary**, daughter of Stephen, a nun, i. 167; her marriage with Matthew of Flanders, 167
- Massoud**, Sultan of Iconium, ii. 14, 16
- Matilda**, daughter of Henry I., her marriage with the Emperor Henry IV., i. 26; declared heiress to the crown, 26; her marriage with Geoffrey of Anjou, 27; her claim to the throne, 29; lands in England, 37; her successes and reverses, 37, 42; retires from the contest, 42; her death, 163
- Matilda**, daughter of Henry II., betrothed to the Duke of Saxony, i. 152; procures the liberation of her mother, ii. 90; her death, 120
- Matthew of Flanders**, his marriage to Mary, the daughter of King Stephen, i. 167; his quarrel with Henry II., 168; treaty between them, 169; again takes up arms, 249; his death, 252
- Maurienne**, Count of, negotiations with the, i. 229
- Mayence**, diet at, at which the liberation of Richard is effected, ii. 430
- Mecca and Medina** threatened by Regnault of Chatillon, ii. 172; fate of the assailants, 173
- Meinhard**, a lord of Carniola, his conduct to Richard, ii. 395
- Melesinda**, Queen of Jerusalem, i. 514; quarrel with her son Baldwin III., ii. 14
- Melkites**, or Greek Christians, their treachery at Jerusalem, ii. 219
- Meranie**, Agnes de, ii. 465
- Merchades**. *See* Marchader
- Mergium**, defeat of the Christians at, ii. 161
- Mersburg**, defeat of the crusaders at, i. 412
- Messina**, arrival of the English fleet at, ii. 231; of the French fleet, 232; captured by Richard, 238; quarrel in consequence with the King of France, 239
- Milo**, Earl of Hereford, a partisan of Matilda, his death, i. 41; rebellion of his son against Henry II., 67
- Modaffareddin**, Prince of Edessa, cuts off a body of Templars, ii. 192
- Montferrat**, Marquis of, his proposal to Henry II., ii. 171
- Montferrat**, Boniface, Marquis of, taken prisoner at Tiberiad, ii. 206; his release offered as the price of the surrender of Tyre, 281; liberated, 283
- Montferrat**, Conrad of, son of Boniface, early life of, ii. 278; defends Tyre against Saladin, 279; his quarrel with Guy, 284; reconciliation, 290; joins in the siege of Acre, 294; his ambitious schemes and treacherous conduct, 303; marries Isabella, and styles himself King of Jerusalem, 304; favoured by Philip Augustus, 305; charged with falsehood and treason by Geoffrey of Lusignan, 323; fiefs assigned to

him, 325 ; his quarrel with Richard, 328 ; his treacherous alliance with Saladin, 353, 363 ; refuses to co-operate with the crusaders, 358 ; assails the Pisans at Acre, but retires on the approach of Richard, 360 ; is chosen king of Jerusalem, 365 ; is assassinated, 367 ; question as to the instigator of the crime, 369 ; conduct of his widow, 371

Montfort, Simon de, Count of Evreux, his treason against the King of France, i. 91

Moreville, Hugh de, one of the murderers of Becket, i. 206 ; his penance, 223

Mortimer, Roger, rebellion of, i. 67 ; is pardoned, 67

N.

Naplouse, the confederation of, ii. 185 ; broken up, 188

Nasreddin, an Egyptian, death of, ii. 19

Nazareth, defeat of the Templars at, ii. 192

Nicæa, capture of, by the crusaders, i. 437, 441

Norman kings, depravity of the, i. 24 ; no regular succession among them, 25

Norman soldier, fidelity of a, to Richard, ii. 396

Normandy, invasion of, by Philip Augustus, ii. 416 ; discontent in, encouraged by him, 457

Northampton, great council at, i. 134 ; assize of, 332

Nottingham, capture of, by Richard, ii. 433 ; council held there, 433

Nouredin, Prince of Aleppo, interview of, with his brother Saifeddin, i. 518 ; captures and dismantles Edessa, 520 ; his ambitious views, ii. 20 ; defeats Baldwin III. at Paneas, 20 ; is defeated by him, 24 ; his war with Almeric, 29 ; his jealousy

of Saladin, 38, 42 ; prepares to reduce him by force of arms, 44 ; his death and character, 45

O.

Octavian, Cardinal. *See* Victor III.

Omar, mosque of, massacre in the, at the capture of Jerusalem, i. 498

Orlando of Sienna becomes Pope, i. 97. *See* Alexander III.

O'Ruark drives Dermot, King of Leinster, from Ireland, i. 216 ; attempts to assassinate Hugh de Lacy, 317

Otho of Saxony, election of, as emperor, ii. 464 ; favours bestowed on him by his uncle Richard, 464

Owen Gwyneth, Prince of Wales, foils the attacks of Henry II., i. 72 ; makes peace, 72 ; is again successful against him, 152 ; his death, 214

Oxford, John of, sent on an embassy to the Pope, i. 171 ; his success, 172 ; sent to escort Becket to England, 202 ; protects him from the violence of De Broc, 203

P.

Paneas, defeat of the Christians at, ii. 22

Pembroke. *See* Strongbow

Peter the Hermit, i. 390 ; his dream, 391 ; his interview with Urban II., 392 ; preaches the crusade, 393 ; heads a body of pilgrims, 406 ; his attempted flight from Antioch, 462 ; at Jerusalem, 494

Philip Augustus, of France, birth of, i. 156 ; his illness, ii. 55 ; is crowned in his father's lifetime, 56 ; becomes king, 57 ; his marriage, 58 ; his conference with Henry II., 59 ; insurrection in France, 63 ; disputes with Henry, 88 ; prepares to

- make war on him, 93; claims the guardianship of the infant daughter of Geoffrey, 93; a truce, 94, 96; war with Henry, 105; conference, 111; joined by Richard, 112; treaty of peace, 115; conference with Richard, 120; goes on the crusade, 227; his illness, 230; arrival at Messina, 232; haughty message to Richard, 239; his treachery revealed by Tancred, 251; treaty with Richard, 254; sails for Palestine, 256; his arrival, 302; his message to Richard at Cyprus, 272; his courtesy to Berengaria, 308; his activity, 310; dissension with Richard, 311, 324; abandons the crusade, 326; neglects his troops left in Palestine, 359; his character contrasted with that of Richard, 400; his intrigues with John, 414; his designs on Normandy, 415; invades and ravages the country, 416; withdraws, 427; endeavours to prolong Richard's imprisonment, 423, 430; his marriage and divorce, 427; his treaty with Earl John, 429, 439; his letter to John, 431; is defeated at Freteval, by Richard, 444; narrowly escapes capture, 445; destroys the fortifications of Vaudreuil, 449; his successes, 450; has a conference with Richard, 451; is defeated at Gisors, 459
- Pigeons, employment of, as letter carriers, ii. 43
- Planci, Milon di, death of, ii. 46
- Plantagenet, origin of the name, i. 27
- Plumton, cruel treatment of, by Ranulph de Glanville, ii. 141
- Poitou, rebellion in, i. 180; Richard attempts to gain the sovereignty of, 295; fresh rebellion in, 343
- Pratelles, William de, devotion of, to Richard, ii. 350; is captured, and ransomed by the king, 351
- Property and income-tax, equitable arrangement of, in the kingdom of Jerusalem, ii. 174
- Provence and Arles, the titular kingdom of, granted to Richard by the emperor, ii. 422
- Pusey, Hugh, Bishop of Durham, purchases the earldom of Northumberland, ii. 136; jest attributed to Richard on the occasion, 136; exercises the power of justiciary, 140; his quarrel with Longchamp, 140, 223; is imprisoned by him, 403; takes the field against the partisans of John, 432
- Puy, Bishop, proceeds to the crusade, i. 399, 434; his death, 482

R.

- Ramla, Saladin defeated at, by Baldwin IV., ii. 157; obtains possession of, and dismantles it, 355; march of the crusaders on, 355
- Ramla, Baldwin of, his contempt for Guy of Lusignan, ii. 187, 188
- Rancun, Geoffrey de, imprudent conduct of, ii. 8; revolt of, 54
- Ransom of Richard, how raised, ii. 425
- Raymond, Prince of Antioch, death of, ii. 16
- Raymond, Count of St. Giles and Toulouse. *See* St. Giles
- Realm defence and military service, i. 5
- Rebellion, lenient treatment of, in the early ages, ii. 118
- Revenue, various sources of, in different reigns, i. 13
- Richard, son of Henry II., birth of, i. 79; Henry's views regarding him, 80; his early education, 235; joins in the rebellion of his brother Henry, 232; impetuosity of character, 243; receives knighthood from the King of France, 271; attempts to gain the sovereignty of Poitou, 295;

- abandoned by his brothers, 296 ; his conduct in Poitou, 296 ; submits to his father, 297 ; styled Count of Poitou, 304 ; subdues an insurrection in Aquitaine, 344, ii. 53 ; his clemency, i. 349 ; question of his marriage, 370 ; it is postponed, 373 ; captures Taillebourg, ii. 55 ; assists the King of France against his rebellious nobles, 65 ; refuses to do homage to his elder brother, 70 ; cause of dislike to him, 70 ; his brothers make war on him, 73 ; he becomes heir-apparent to the throne, 80 ; pressed to give up Aquitaine to his brother John, 84 ; gives it up to his mother, 89 ; receives it again, 91 ; makes war on the Count of Toulouse, 92 ; assists his father against Philip, 95 ; is cajoled by him, and induced to seize his father's treasure, 97 ; takes the cross, 99 ; again makes war on the Count of Toulouse, 103 ; combat with William de Barres, 107 ; suspicious conduct of Henry, 110 ; demands of Richard, 111 ; refused, 111 ; does homage to the King of France, 112 ; the quarrel submitted to arbitration, 112 ; joins Philip in making war on Henry, 112 ; his remorse on his father's death, 117. *See* Richard I.
- Richard I., King of England, personal appearance and character, ii. 126 ; his indignation against Stephen of Tours, 118 ; his lenity to his other opponents, 119 ; obtains absolution for his war on his father, 119 ; his investiture as Duke of Normandy, 119 ; his conference with Philip, 120 ; his kindness to his natural brother Geoffrey, 121 ; sets his mother at liberty, 122 ; publishes an act of grace to prisoners in general, 123 ; lands in England, 124 ; his generosity to his brother John, 125 ; his coronation, 128 ; massacre of the Jews, 132 ; prepares for the crusade, 134 ; his various modes of raising money, 136 ; his departure delayed, 143 ; quarrel and reconciliation with his brother Geoffrey, 145, 150 ; retort on Fulke of Neuilly, 222 ; his interview with Philip Augustus at St. Remi, 222 ; arranges the affairs of England, 223 ; visits his continental dominions, 224 ; laws for the discipline of his forces, 225 ; proceeds on the crusade, 228 ; sails from Marseilles, 229 ; his voyage to Messina, 230 ; his life in danger, 231 ; arrives at Messina, 234 ; his demands on Tancred, 236 ; captures Messina, 238 ; quarrel with Philip, 239 ; arrangement with Tancred, 242 ; declares Arthur of Brittany his heir, 244 ; mitigates the law of wreck, and makes other beneficial regulations, 245 ; his penance, 246 ; his visit to the Abbot Joachim, 246 ; his occupations at Messina, 247 ; quarrel with Des Barres, 248 ; his visit to Tancred, 250 ; its consequences, 251 ; treaty with Philip, 254 ; his liberality, 259 ; sails for Palestine, 262 ; arrives at Rhodes, 262 ; bad conduct of the Cypriotes, 263 ; his marriage, 269 ; his married life, 448 ; conquers Cyprus, 273 ; captures a large vessel on his way to Palestine, 306 ; lands at Acre, 308 ; his illness, 311 ; dissensions with Philip Augustus, 311 ; his skill as a cross-bowman, 315 ; releases Philip from his engagement, 327 ; massacres the garrison of Acre, 330 ; conflicting statements, 331 ; marches on Ascalon, 332 ; is wounded, 338 ; gains the battle of Assur, 345 ; occupies Joppa, 348 ; narrowly escapes capture, 350 ;

rescues the Earl of Leicester and the Templars, 351; negotiations with Saladin, 353; advances towards Jerusalem, 355; dissensions in his camp oblige him to retire, 356; repairs the fortifications of Ascalon, 358; harasses the neighbouring country, 363; confers knighthood on the son of Malek-adel, 364; receives bad news from England, and resolves to return, 364; is charged with procuring the murder of Conrad of Montferrat, 368; improbability of the charge, 369; establishes Henry of Champagne as king, and bestows Cyprus on Guy of Lusignan, 373; captures Daron, 374; again advances towards Jerusalem, 375; its state of defence, 376; his prudent counsel, 377; sarcastic contest with the French in his army, 378; his liberality, 379; prepares for his return to England, 380; negotiations with Saladin, 380; hastens from Acre to relieve Jaffa, 382; his victory, 384; his message to Saladin, 384; attempt to capture him in his tent, 385; with a small force beats off Saladin's army, 388; particulars of his achievements, 388; truce concluded with Saladin, 390; Richard's illness, 390; refuses to visit Jerusalem, and why, 391; sends his fleet before him, 392; assumes the habit of a Templar, and quits Palestine, 392; his history from this point incomplete, 393; fruitless efforts of the author to elucidate it, 393; Richard's arrival in Carniola in disguise, 394; his secret discovered, 395; his adventure at Freisach, 396; is captured at Vienna, 397; his amusements, 393; transferred to the custody of the emperor, 398; a sirvente composed by him, 399; his cha-

racter contrasted with that of Philip, 400; rumours of his imprisonment reach England, 417; the place discovered, 419; is summoned before a diet at Hagenau, 420; charges against him, 421; his triumphant answer, 422; negotiations for his liberation, 423; raising of his ransom, 425; he is released, 431; his reception in London, 432; subdues the partisans of John, 433; is again crowned, 435; adopts harsh means to recruit his finances, 436; goes to Normandy, 437; is reconciled to John, 441; raises the siege of Verneuil, 441; defeats Philip at Freteval, 444; takes bodies of Brabançons into his service, 445; truce with France, 449; the war renewed, 449; his conference with Philip, 451; a treaty between them, 452; it is soon broken, 453; embarrassments of Richard, 455; his alliances, 456; defeats Philip at Gisors, 459; his reply to the application of the Pope for the release of the Bishop of Beauvais, 460; a truce, 461; places confidence in his brother John, 461; is wounded before Chalus, 470; his magnanimity, 472; his death, 473; estimate of his character, 473

Riveri, Pasque de, a courtesan, ii. 186

Robert, Count of Flanders. *See* Flanders, Robert, Count of

Robert, Duke of Normandy, his conduct in the first crusade, i. 418; at Jerusalem, 496

Roderic, King of Connaught, his compact with Henry II., i. 219, 316

Rosamond, the Fair, a mistress of Henry II., i. 279

Rouen, siege of, by Louis VII., i. 290; by Philip Augustus, ii. 429

Rouen, Archbishop of, his conduct

in the quarrel between Earl John and Longchamp, ii. 405; comes to an agreement with Longchamp, 413; opposes the treacherous designs of John, 414; seeks to procure the liberation of Richard, 417; becomes one of his hostages, 431

Royal authority, augmentation of the, its causes, i. 15

S.

Saifeddin, Prince of Moussoul, interview of, with his brother Noureddin, i. 518

Saifeddin, nephew of Noureddin, ii. 44; defeated by Saladin, 49

Sainctes, capture of, i. 281

Saladin, rise of, ii. 54; his services in Egypt, 31; is given as a hostage to the Franks, 33; becomes Vizier of Egypt, 37; attacked unsuccessfully by the Franks and Greeks, 40; distrust of Noureddin, 38, 42; becomes ruler of Egypt, 38; invades Syria, 48; takes the title of Sultan, 50; attempt to assassinate him, 50; invades Palestine, 154; is defeated by Baldwin IV., 157; defeats the Christians at Mergium, 161; agrees to a truce, 163; his designs on Aleppo, 166; attacks Berytes, 168; his perilous situation, 169; is foiled before Moussoul, 170; gains Aleppo, 170; extent of his dominions, 171; enters Palestine, but retires without fighting, 175, 176; besieges Carac ineffectually, 177; makes an alliance with the Count of Tripoli, 189; his vast preparations against the kingdom of Jerusalem, 195; captures Tiberiad, 197; defeats the Christians at Tiberiad, 203; murders with his own hand Regnault of Châtillon, 207; massacres the knights of the Temple and Hospital who

had been taken prisoners, 208; his further successes, 210-213; besieges and captures Jerusalem, 215-221; his good faith to the vanquished, 276; repulsed from Tyre, 282; liberates Guy and others, 283; further successes, 286; attempts to raise the siege of Acre, 293; retires, 326; harasses Richard's march, 334; defeated at Assur, 345; dismantles Ascalon and other fortresses, 347; enters into negotiations with Richard, 353; his personal activity for the fortification of Jerusalem, 376; invests Jaffa, 381; his army beaten off by Richard, 388; they become mutinous, 389; resumes negotiations, 389; truce concluded, 390; his death, 391

Salah-eddin. *See* Saladin

Salisbury, Hubert, Bishop of, at the siege of Acre, ii. 315; visits Richard in Germany, 424; made Archbishop of Canterbury, 426. *See* Canterbury, Hubert, Archbishop of

Salisbury, Jocelyn, Bishop of, excommunicated by Becket, i. 191, 202; absolved by the Pope, 214

Salisbury, Roger, Bishop of, his ingratitude, i. 30; imprisoned by Stephen, 36

Salisbury, John of, a partisan of Becket, i. 211; his hostility to the king, 213

Sancerre, Stephen, Count of, rebellion of, ii. 62; subdued, 65

Sancho of Navarre, his dispute with Alphonso of Castile, 338

Schawer, Vizier of Egypt, his expulsion, ii. 27; reinstated by Schircou, 28; quarrels with him, and calls in the Franks, 29; put to death, 37

Schircou, the general of Noureddin, ii. 23; Saladin his nephew, 24; his campaign in Egypt, 29;

- murders Schawer, 37; his own death, 37
- Scutage, or Escuage, i. 12; first distinct example of, 13; amount of money raised, 87
- Sempringham, order of, their share in the ransom of Richard, ii. 426
- Senan, Iman of the Ismalians, ii. 367
- Sens, Archbishop of, lays an interdict on Henry's continental dominions, i. 213
- Sheriffs and bailiffs deprived of their offices, and heavily fined, ii. 141
- Soliman, the Seljukian sultan, attacks the crusaders, i. 439; capture of his family, 441; is defeated by Boemond, 448
- Soyes, treaty of, i. 354
- Squire and page, their duties, i. 239
- St. Clare, Hubert, saves the life of Henry II., i. 67
- St. Giles and Toulouse, Raymond, Count of, i. 82; goes to the crusade, 399; his indignation at the treachery of Alexius, 435; defeated by Baguisian, 463; quarrel with Boemond, 484; disliked by his companions, 489; at the siege of Jerusalem, 493; at the battle of Ascalon, 503; dies at the siege of Tripoli, 508
- St. Giles and Toulouse, Raymond VI., Count of, marries Queen Joan of Sicily, ii. 455
- St. Jean de Losne, council at, i. 105
- Stephen, King, his supporters, i. 31; seizes his predecessor's treasure, 31; is crowned, 32; dissatisfaction of the clergy, 35, is taken prisoner, 38; exchanged for Robert of Gloucester, 39; progress of the war, 39-42; fresh disputes with the clergy, 49; treaty with Henry of Normandy, 58; his death, 62
- Stephen of Blois, a leader in the crusade, i. 404; abandons the cause, 466; returns, 506; is taken prisoner, and put to death, 507
- Stephen, Count of Boulogne, swears fealty to Matilda, i. 27, 28; account of, 28; seizes the throne, 30, 31. *See* Stephen, King
- Strongbow (Richard Clare, Earl of Pembroke), invasion of Ireland by, i. 217; becomes sovereign of Leinster, 218; his difficulties, 319
- Suabia, Frederic, Duke of, ii. 7; his services before Acre, 301
- Sybilla, sister of Baldwin IV., marriage of, ii. 152; her second marriage to Guy of Lusignan, 162; with him, seizes on the city of Jerusalem, 185; suspected of the death of her son, 185; is crowned, 186; withdraws from Jerusalem, 214; her death before Acre, 302

T.

- Taillebourg, capture of, by Richard, ii. 54
- Takieddin, nephew of Saladin, ii. 157; at the battle of Tiberiad, 203; at the siege of Acre, 295; at the battle of Assur, 344; his death, 363
- Tancred, King of Sicily, ii. 232; his alliance with Philip Augustus, 233; Richard's demands, 234; negotiations, 241; treaty, 243; discloses Philip's treachery to Richard, 251; his death, 462; fate of his widow and son, 463
- Tancred, Prince of Otranto, a leader in the first crusade, i. 404, 430; refuses to do homage to Alexius, 432; openly defies him, 444; his generosity, 452, 453; despatched to protect the Christians of Bethlehem, 490; at the capture of Jerusalem, 491; at Ascalon, 503; his death, 511
- Tarsus, surrender of, to Tancred, i. 450; claimed by Baldwin of Lorraine, 450

- Taticius, a Greek envoy, his flight from the camp of the crusaders, i. 461
- Taurus, passage of, by the crusaders, i. 451
- Templars, Knights, establishment of the, i. 510; their dress and standard, 511; accused of covetousness, ii. 19; their jealousy of the Hospitallers, 35
- Thaneland and Bocland, explanation of, i. 6
- Thoron, Humphrey of, his dealings with Saladin, ii. 49; his death and character, 160
- Thoron, Humphrey of, the younger, ii. 177; marries the sister of Baldwin IV., 177; declines to contest the throne with Guy of Lusignan, 187; captured at Tiberiad, 206; released, 283; divorced, 303
- Thoros, Prince of Edessa, assassination of, i. 452
- Tiberiad, capture of the town of, by Saladin, ii. 197; great battle near, 202; surrender of the citadel, 210
- Tithe, Saladin's, the tax so called, ii. 101
- Torneham, Robert de, appointed one of the governors of Cyprus, ii. 274
- Torneham, Stephen de, in Palestine, ii. 355
- Toulouse, claim of Henry II. on, i. 81; war, 87; treaty with the King of France, 91; fresh quarrel on the subject, ii. 104
- Toulouse, Alphonso, Count of, i. 85
- Toulouse, Pons, Count of, i. 82
- Toulouse, Raymond, Count of. *See* St. Giles
- Toulouse, Raymond VI., Count of, his unsuccessful contests with Richard, ii. 22, 103; marries Queen Joan, 455
- Toulouse, William, Count of, i. 82
- Touranschah, brother of Saladin, ii. 152
- Tournaments, the holding of, a source of profit to the king, ii. 446
- Tours, Stephen of, imprisonment of, ii. 118
- Tracy, William de, one of the murderers of Becket, i. 206; his penance, 223
- Trenchmer, Alanus de, ii. 432
- Tripoli, arrangement made by the crusaders with the Emir of, i. 489; capture of, 508
- Tripoli, Raymond, Count of, becomes regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem, ii. 46; his negotiations with Saladin, 49; his quarrel with Baldwin IV., 163, 167; they are reconciled, 168; appointed regent of the kingdom, 179; his wise measures, 180; makes a truce with Saladin, 182; calumnious reports, 183; treachery of Jocelyn de Courtenay, 185; hostility of Guy de Lusignan, 188; makes an alliance with Saladin, 189; its disastrous consequences, 191; reconciled to Guy, 193; his wise counsel rejected, 198; cuts his way through the enemy, 203; escapes to Tyre, 206; his death, 206
- Tusculum, the papal troops defeated at, i. 177
- Tyre, capture of, by the crusaders, i. 510; its danger from Saladin, ii. 277; its defence by Conrad of Montferrat, 279
- Tyre, William, Archbishop of, his success in preaching the crusade, ii. 100, 287

U.

- Urban II., Pope, favours the views of Peter the Hermit, i. 392; his address to the multitude at Clermont, 395
- Urban III., Pope, death of, ii. 99

V.

- Vaudreuil, cession of, by John, to Philip Augustus, ii. 440; its fortifications destroyed by him, 449
 Verneuil, siege of, i. 253; its capture, 255; siege of, by Philip Augustus, ii. 437, 440; raised by Richard, 441
 Vexin, the Norman, question of the cession of, i. 76, ii. 82; its important position, i. 372; overrun by Philip Augustus, ii. 416
 Vezelai, rendezvous of the English and French crusaders on the plains of, ii. 228
 Victor III., Pope, character of, i. 97; supported by the emperor, 98; his death, 169

W.

- Waldenses, decree against the, ii. 53
 Wales, expedition of Henry II. to, i. 71, 151
 Walter the Pennyless, a leader in the first crusade, i. 404; his death, 409
 William I., his dealings with the Saxons, i. 7
 William II., character of, i. 24
 William the Good, King of Sicily, marriage of, to the Princess Joan, i. 337; his reception of William of Tyre, ii. 287
 William the Lion, King of Scotland, i. 181; ravages the north of England, 259; again-takes arms, 276; is taken prisoner, hard terms of his release, 303;

- purchases an amelioration of them, ii. 137; his friendship for Richard, 416, 436; Richard's acknowledgment, 437
 William, son of Henry I., i. 25; his death, 26
 William, son of Henry II., birth of, i. 65; fealty sworn to him, 65; his death, 79
 William, son of Stephen, i. 59; his father's possessions confirmed to him by Henry of Normandy, 60; his death, 90
 William the Carpenter, attempted flight of, i. 462
 William of Pavia, a papal legate, i. 190

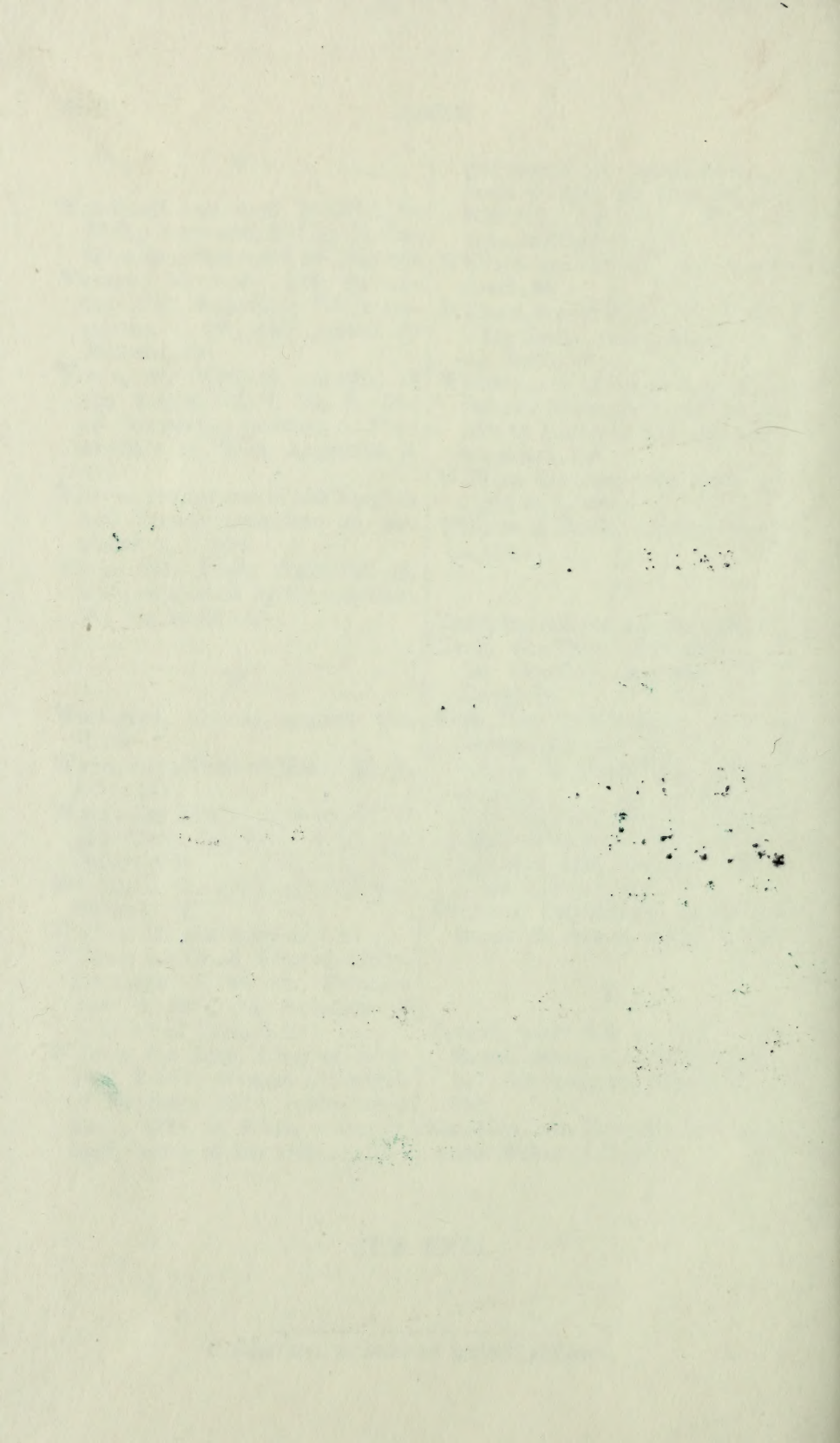
Y.

- York, Benedict of, a Jew, ii. 131, 133
 York, Geoffrey, Archbishop of. *See* Geoffrey, natural son of Henry II.
 York, Roger, Archbishop of, crowns Henry, the son of Henry II., i. 188; is excommunicated by Becket, 202; absolved by the Pope, 214; assaulted by the partisans of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 325; singular reconciliation, 326
 York and Canterbury, dispute between the sees of, i. 325, ii. 144

Z.

- Zengui, early life of, i. 515; captures Edessa, 516; is murdered, 517; his character, 517; his sons, 518
 Zineddin, an Egyptian preacher, crucifixion of, ii. 47

THE END.





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